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THE

JAPANESE EXPEDITION

TO

FORMOSA

BY

EDWARD H. HOUSE

TOKIO

1875

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It will be obvious that the following pages make no pretence to the formality of a historical record. They are chiefly collected from memoranda of personal observation of the incidents described, and of authentic narratives of the diplomatic transactions between the governments of Japan and China. Their necessarily hasty preparation makes them incomplete in many particulars, and there are, indeed, reasons why a full and unabridged report of the events connected with Formosa might be inexpedient at this moment; but, within the limits prescribed for them, they are believed to represent the leading features of the subject with accuracy, and to be supported by sufficient evidence upon all points concerning which discussion may hereafter arise.

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Tokio, April, 1875.

CHAPTER IV. PAGE

AMOY—NEW OBSTACLES—DEFECTION OF AN ENGLISH AGENT—CONSULAR AUTOCRACY—OPINIONS OF U. S. OFFICIALS—VOYAGE ACROSS FORMOSA STRAIT—THE "YUKO MARU" ANCHORED IN LIANGKIAO BAY. . . 25

CHAPTER V.

FIRST COMMUNICATION WITH THE SHORE—THE INTERPRETER JOHNSON—LIANGKIAO BAY—INTERVIEW WITH NATIVE VILLAGERS—THEIR APPEARANCE AND DEMEANOR—EFFECTS OF BETEL-NUT CHEWING—ANNOUNCEMENT OF JAPANESE INTENTIONS—THE QUESTION OF DISCIPLINE. 30

CHAPTER VI.

A PARTY OF INSPECTION—THE VILLAGE OF SIALIAO AND ITS INHABITANTS—EXPLORATION OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD—GENERAL ASPECT OF THE LOCALITY—UNEXPECTED EFFECT OF A WEDDING FESTIVAL. . . . 35

CHAPTER VII.

THE HOSPITALITIES OF LIANGKIAO—A PIG SACRIFICED—SHOCKS TO NATIVE DELICACY—A SIALIAO BANQUET—SECOND TOUR OF INVESTIGATION—PERSONAL EXPERIENCES—A CONVOCATION OF INQUISITIVE FEMALES—VIVACIOUS BUT UNPRODUCTIVE COLLOQUIES. 40

CHAPEER VIII.

LANDING OF TROOPS AND STORES—DEFICIENCIES OF MILITARY SYSTEM—INCIDENTS OF DEBARKATION—DISPOSITION OF THE INHABITANTS—FIRST PLANS FOR AN ENCAMPMENT—NATIVE LABORERS EMPLOYED. 45

CHAPTER IX.

BEHAVIOR OF THE POPULACE—THEIR UNCONTROLLABLE CURIOSITY—PERSISTENT INGENUITY BAFFLED—DISCOMFORT FROM HEAT—AN ILLUMINATION. 51

CHAPTER X.

PAGE

NATIVE LABORERS EMPLOYED—THEIR IMPRATICABILITY—VISIT OF A BRITISH GUNBOAT—AN ENTERPRISING CONSUL—INSATIABLE GREED OF THE POPULACE—A THREATENED APPEAL TO ARMS—ARRIVAL OF ARMY AND NAVY OFFICERS—JAPANESE HOUSE-BUILDING IN FORMOSA. 55

CHAPTER XI.

NEW CAMP SELECTED—FRESH DIFFICULTIES WITH THE NATIVES—RASH EXCURSION OF UNAUTHORIZED VOLUNTEERS—AN INTERVIEW WITH SAVAGE CHIEFS—THE LEADER OF SOUTHERN FORMOSA—FRIENDLY RELATIONS ESTABLISHED—CONFIDENCE IN GENERAL LE GENDRE—ANOTHER FEAST. 61

CHAPTER XII.

A RASH ADVANCE AND ITS RESULT—THE PENALTY OF STRAGGLING—DECAPITATION OF A SATSUMA SOLDIER—ASSAULT ON A BOAT'S CREW OF A JAPANESE FRIGATE—VIOLENT RAIN STORM AND CONSEQUENT DELAYS. 68

CHAPTER XIII.

ASSAULT ON A RECONNOITRING PARTY—ANOTHER IMPRUDENT EXCURSION—ATTACK IN FORCE BY THE JAPANESE—FUTILE PURSUIT OF THE SAVAGES—A SUSPECTED VILLAGE—ESTABLISHMENT OF OUTPOSTS—THE FIRST REGULAR ENGAGEMENT—SIX JAPANESE AND SIXTEEN ABORIGINES SLAIN. 71

CHAPTER XIV.

PAGE

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL SAIGO—FRESH STORES AND RE-ENFORCEMENTS—UNEXPECTED VISIT OF TWO CHINESE SHIPS OF WAR—A FRIENDLY MISSION—INTERVIEWS OF COURTESY—LETTER FROM THE VICEROY AT FU KIEN—FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT OF CHINESE CLAIM OF AUTHORITY—THE QUESTION OF FUTURE CONTROL DEFFERED—NATIONAL SALUTATIONS—CHINESE AWKWARDNESS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF HEAVY GUNS—FIRST INEFFECTUAL RESULTS OF FOREIGN INTERFERENCE—ITS SUBSEQUENT SUCCESS—CHINESE INERTIA CONTRASTED WITH JAPANESE ACTIVITY. 75

CHAPTER XV.

LATER INTELLIGENCE FROM JAPAN—UNJUST ASPERSIONS—MR. BINGHAM'S PROTEST—POSSIBLE MOTIVES FOR HIS COURSE—RETROSPECTIVE DETAILS—SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE ACTION OF DIPLOMATIC MEMBERS—RESPONSIBILITIES OF OKUMA—CONCLUSIONS OF THAT OFFICER—AN INVESTIGATION AND ITS RESULTS—OKUBO TOSIMITI—FUTILITY OF FOREIGN OPPOSITION. 83

CHAPTER XVI.

INCIDENTS OF THE RECENT ENCOUNTERS—SAVAGE CHIEFTAINS SLAIN—THE POLICY DECIDED UPON—INDEPENDENT VOLUNTEERS—QUESTIONABLE DISCIPLINE—TEMPER OF THE COAST VILLAGERS—EFFECT OF THE BOTAN DEFEAT UPON THE MOUNTAINEERS—A WARLIKE INTERPRETER—EXCESSIVE HEAT—DIVERSIONS OF THE SOLDIERS. . . . 91

CHAPTER XVII.

SECOND CONFERENCE WITH ISA AND OTHER CHIEFS—THE BEARING OF THE SAVAGE LEADER—OVERESTIMATED STRENGTH OF SOUTHERN TRIBES—CONDITIONS OF AMICABLE INTERCOURSE—A FAIR COMPACT—EXCHANGE OF PRESENTS. 97

CHAPTER XVIII.

PAGE

PROJECTED MARCH INTO THE INTERIOR—DIFFICULTIES OF THE UNDERTAKING—ESTIMATED FORCE OF THE SAVAGE TRIBES—INACCURACY OF ANTECEDENT REPORTS—POLITICAL RELATIONS OF THE VARIOUS CHIEFS. 104

CHAPTER XIX.

PLAN OF THE PROPOSED EXCURSION—HEAVY RAIN STORMS—SLEEPING UNDER UMBRELLAS—COMMERCIAL SPIRIT OF THE LIANGKIAO NATIVES—METHODS OF INTERCOURSE—THE LAST OF THE BALD-HEADED AGITATOR—DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING GUIDES—A UNITED STATES' SHIP IN DANGER. 108

CHAPTER XX.

IMPERFECTION OF MAPS OF FORMOSA—MOVEMENT TO THE INTERIOR—HEAVY ROADS AND DIFFICULT RIVER PASSAGES—SOLDIERS DROWNED—THREE COLUMNS ON THE MARCH—LABORIOUS PROGRESS—CAMPAIGNING IN NIGHT DRESS—APPROACH TO THE STONE GATE. . . 114

CHAPTER XXI.

THE STONE GATE—SKIRMISH OF MAY TWENTY-SECOND REVIEWED—GALLANTRY OF THE JAPANESE—PRIMITIVE BUT EFFECTIVE TACTICS—RELUCTANCE TO ABANDON THE CONTEST—A SCALING PARTY—THE ENEMY PUT TO FLIGHT—NUMBERS OF KILLED AND WOUNDED. . 119

CHAPTER XXII.

FORDING AT THE STONE GATE—PERSONAL REMINISCENES—THOUGHTFULNESS OF JAPANESE OFFICERS—A SINGULAR DISCOVERY—GRAVES OF THE MURDERED RIU KIUANS—FATIGUES OF MOUNTAIN CLIMBING—DISTANT SKIRMISHES—FORMIDABLE BARRICADES—THE ADVANCE INTERRUPTED—A NIGHT IN A CHEVEUX DE FRISE—FINE BEHAVIOR OF THE SOLDIERS. 124

CHAPTER XXIII.

PAGE

RELIEF AT HAND—THE WATCHES OF THE NIGHT—FEAST OF SWEET POTATOES—AN AMIYA VILLAGE—THE INFERIOR RACE—CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION OF BOTAN AND KUSUKUT—THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN DETACHMENTS ASTRAY—REUNION OF GENERAL OFFICERS—A DAY IN THE MOUNTAINS—RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION—RETURN TO LIANGKIAO—A PAINFUL MARCH—JAPANESE COURTESY. 129

CHAPTER XXIV.

REST AND REFRESHMENT—RESULTS ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED—THIRD INTERVIEW WITH ABORIGINAL CHIEFS—A FORMOSAN WEDDING—MARRIAGE CEREMONIES AND FESTIVITIES—VISIT OF SAVAGE LEADERS TO THE ENCAMPMENT—ISA IMPROVES THE SITUATION. 137

CHAPTER XXV.

VOYAGE TO THE EASTERN COAST—NISHIN BAY—DIFFICULTY OF LANDING—AMICABLE GREETINGS—DISTENDED EARS OF FORMOSANS—THE CHIEF OF KOALUT—REFRESHMENTS IN OPEN AIR —FORMOSAN DISTILLED SPIRITS—ISA IN HIS CUPS —CAMP IN THE SAVAGE COUNTRY. . . 145

CHAPTER XXVI.

NEW CAMP ESTABLISHED—JAPANESE SURGEONS—INSALUBRITY OF THE OLD STATION—A TRANQUIL EXISTENCE—ANIMALS, INSECTS, AND REPTILES OF THE COUNTRY—LIMITED DIVERSIONS—SAIGO'S CHOICE OF AN INVADING ARMY—YOKOHAMA NEWSPAPERS—JAPANESE EXPLORATIONS OF FORMOSA—FRIENDLY VISITS TO THE INTERIOR—EXPERIMENTAL FARM ATTEMPTED. 150

CHAPTER XXVII.

PAGE

SECOND VISIT FROM CHINESE OFFICIALS—MANNER OF THEIR RECEPTION —COMPLIMENTS FROM A FOREIGN ADVISER—PERSONNEL OF THE MISSION—YANAGIWARA, JAPANESE ENVOY TO PEKING—FIRST SUGGESTION OF REMONSTANCE FROM CHINA—CONFERENCES IN SHANGHAI —VIOLATION OF CHINESE PLEDGES—INTERVIEWS BETWEEN GENERAL SAIGO AND COMMISSIONER PAN WI—DIPLOMATIC CUNNING AND SOLDIERLY CANDOR. 158

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CHINESE VISITS TO THE INTERIOR—FINAL CONFERENCE—A RAY OF LIGHT—PLAIN EXPRESSIONS OF OPINION—SHARP WORDS—PRACTICAL PROPOSALS FAVORABLY RECEIVED—TERMS OF SETTLEMENT SUGGESTED —COURTESIES TO THE VISITORS—JAPANESE AND CHINESE SOLDIERS CONSTRASTED. 168

CHAPTER XXIX.

LETTERS FROM UNITED STATES' OFFICERS—THE AMERICANS AGAIN WARNED—CONSULAR NOTIFICATION—EXCITEMENT IN AMOY—JAPANESE HOSTILE MOVEMENTS DISCONTINUED. 172

CHAPTER XXX.

STORM ON THE FORMOSA COAST—HASTY FLIGHT—INVOLUNTARY TRIP TO AMOY—PANIC AMONG THE CITIZENS—ACTION OF THE UNITED STATES' OFFICERS—LETTER FROM THE VICEROY AT FU KIEN—CHINESE DREAD OF AMERICAN CO-OPERATION—FALLACY OF CLAIMS OF JURISDICTION— REPEATED OFFICIAL DENIALS. 175

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE AFFAIR—MURDERS OF JAPANESE SUBJECTS—SAVAGE TRIBES OF FORMOSA—OUTRAGES ON NAVIGATORS—CASE OF THE AMERICAN SHIP "ROVER"—BRITISH ACTION—U. S. EXPEDITIONS—NAVAL ATTACK AND REPULSE—CHINESE INABILITY TO CONTROL THE ABORIGINES—DENIALS OF RESPONSIBILITY—VISITS OF GEN. LE GENDRE—FRIENDLY AGREEMENT—RENEWAL OF BARBARITIES—CHINESE INDIFFERENCE.

THE original cause and occasion for the Japanese expedition to the south-eastern coast of the island known to Europeans as Formosa was the murder, in December, 1871, of a number of shipwrecked Riu Kiu islanders, who were accidentally driven ashore near the territory occupied by the semi-savage race of Botans, whose hostility to strangers of every nationality had long made them the terror of the region over which they held control. Since these waters were first visited by navigators, the history of their relation with the tribes inhabiting the eastern shore, with whom they were thrown in contact, had been one of almost uninterrupted depredation and atrocity on one side, and suffering or martyrdom on the other. In recent times hardly a year had passed without the record of a series of fresh outrages upon those whom the calamities of the ocean had cast among these aborigines. Mariners from nearly every civilized nation were known to have been either slaughtered outright, or to have perished from the inhuman treatment to which they were subjected. In addition to the long catalogue of authenticated instances of barbarism, there was such general and well grounded suspicion concerning the fate of a multitude of ships that had disappeared in the neighborhood that the mercantile community had come to

look upon the passage of this part of the coast of Formosa as, in certain respects, the most hazardous in the Eastern seas. The ferocious character attributed to the inhabitants may be understood by the fact that they were usually designated "The Cannibals," although it was not known that the term had anything more than a figurative application. It was used as a comprehensive description of a people who, bound together by the defensive and offensive ties of piracy and outlawry, regarded all strangers as their enemies; repelled the approaches of their nearest partially civilized neighbors, the Chinese; acknowledged the authority of only their own wild natures, and demonstrated their resolution to resist all influences from abroad by the unsparing and merciless destruction of the helpless sufferers who were forced from time to time to seek shelter at their hands.

If Americans were not especially the victims of these cruelties, at least the instances of violence against Americans were those that most frequently came to light. The most flagrant of these was probably the case of the bark "Rover," which is still vividly memorable in the East, not only on account of its own distressing circumstances, but also for its somewhat remarkable consequences. It led to a condition of affairs which affected various countries, more or less directly, and a certain connection can even be traced between it and the movement of the Japanese government now under consideration. On the 9th of March, 1867, the "Rover" left the Chinese port of Suatao for Niuchang, and was driven by a storm to the south of Formosa, where she struck, it is supposed, upon the "Vele Rete" rocks. She presently sunk, the Captain, named Hunt, escaping with his wife and the crew in boats. They made their way with some difficulty to a point on the south-eastern shore of the island, landing within the limits occupied by the tribe of Koalut. Soon after being discovered, they were attacked by the natives and were all killed with the exception of a single Chinese sailor, who had hidden himself upon the first appearance of the assailants, and who afterward succeded in getting to Takao, on the western

coast, where he related the circumstances. In due season the intelligence became known at Taiwan Fu, the principal Chinese town in Formosa, whence it was communicated by the British Consul to his Minister in Peking and by him to Mr. Burlingame. While that gentleman was occupied in the preparation of measures of redress, Captain Broad, of the British Navy, who was stationed at the time at Taiwan Fu, started in the man-of-war "Cormorant," to the scene of the slaughter, in the uncertain hope of finding and rescuing survivors, should any still exist. He reached the Koalut country on the 26th of March and commenced his search, but was in turn fired upon and compelled to retire. One of his men was wounded, though none were killed. He shelled the attacking islanders, from his vessel, and drove them out from the jungle in which they were hidden; but, having no force sufficient to warrant a pursuit, soon abandoned the contest and returned to Takao and Amoy.

In the month of April, 1867, the United States' Consul at Amoy, General C. W. Le Gendre, made a vigorous effort to put himself in communication with the heads of the marauding tribes, with a view to obtaining pledges of security for the future, but was at this time unable to go on shore, the Koaluts refusing to allow him to land peacefully. The Chinese officials of the western coast disclaimed any direct authority over the people of the East and declared their inability to interfere, although the Central Government at Peking expressed a disposition to inflict chastisement, in consequence of the assumption by the United States' Minister that China was responsible for the deeds of all the Formosans. In June, 1867, Admiral Bell, having received instructions from Washington, sailed in the "Hartford," accompanied by the "Wyoming," for the purpose of enforcing attention to the demands of civilization. The expedition was not successful. A body of one hundred and eighty-one officers, sailors and marines was landed on the 19th of June, and, after a brief engagement, during which Lieutenant Commander A. S. Mackenzie was killed, was with-

drawn in some confusion to the ships. The difficulties of the situation appearing to be greater than had been anticipated, the whole affair was indefinitely abandoned. These details, not without importance in themselves, will be found to possess a particular significance as showing an identity of interests between the government of the United States and that of Japan—an identity which, in the early stages of the Japanese movement, was disregarded to an extent producing serious embarrassments and complications.

In their reports detailing these events, the United States' officers, including Admiral Bell, expressed the confident opinion that the only effective method of rendering the region permanently safe and freeing the the waters of that vicinity from their perils would be the dispersal of the aborigines from the shores and the occupation of the coast by a powerful ally. It was urged that the Chinese should be induced to undertake this duty; but experience had already shown, as it has since shown more forcibly, that the task was beyond both their inclination and their power. As to legitimate control over the Formosan tribes of the East they disclaimed it altogether, and, in fact, their own maps clearly exhibited the line where the exercise of their jurisdiction ceased. In all that relates to the development of subsequent events it is important to remember that the Chinese persistently proclaimed the "Cannibals" to be wholly outside of their dominion. It was upon this understanding, and in consequence of the repeated admissions of the Peking authorities of their inability to repress the outrages which threatened to become more and more frequent, that the Japanese finally resolved to take active measures of their own, and to endeavor to carry out a policy that should not only secure immunity for their own subjects, but should also assist the cause of humanity for all nations.

After the ineffectual attempt of the "Hartford" to bring the Koaluts to reason, a second visit was made, in September, 1867, by General Le Gendre, in company with a considerable Chinese force. The annals of of romance supply few more exciting chapters than the chronicle of this

adventurous invasion of a land totally unknown until that time, and not only surrounded by mystery but darkened by traditions of unusual gloom and terror.* The presence of the Chinese troops did not appear to produce the intimidating effects which those who sent them had perhaps anticipated, and, indeed, in the negotiations which ensued, the Chinese leader was treated with an indifference, not to say insolence, that plainly showed the independent attitude and intentions of the Formosan tribes. General Le Gendre adopted the boldest possible course of action, which proved to be the wisest. He went alone, that is to say attended only by the necessary interpreters and guides, some half dozen altogether, to a conference with the confederated Southern chiefs, eighteen in number, who were attended by a formidable body of armed men. The interview was entirely pacific, and, to some extent, friendly. Tokitok, at that period the acknowledged head of the eighteen tribes, excused the wanton cruelties of the Koaluts, after his fashion, by saying that they were part of a prolonged scheme of revenge. "A long time ago," he declared, "white people had nearly extirpated the Koalut race leaving only three who survived to hand down to their posterity the desire for vengeance. Having no ships to pursue foreigners, they had taken their revenge as best they could." There is no improbability in this statement. The records of the Dutch visits to, and occupation of, portions of Formosa in the seventeenth century, are stained by misdeeds as gross as any of which the Asiatic savages, at this day, have given reason to complain.

The result of this meeting between Tokitok and the United States' Consul was a promise on the part of the former to respect, under reasonable conditions, the lives and property of all Americans and Europeans who should thereafter be thrown upon his shores. That promise, so far as is known, was faithfully adhered to. But the chief would make no such agreement with the Chinese General, and, in fact refused to

* See Appendix, D.

confer with him upon any subject. When pressed for an interview he sent his daughters to answer for him that he had yielded to the American Consul in consequence of the bravery shown by his countrymen in the "Hartford" and "Wyoming" fight—implying that the Chinese had established no such claim upon his consideration.

From that time, for a period of several years, as often as the opportunity offered, the better disposed of the savage population proved their sincerity by succoring castaways, and sending notice to the nearest Chinese stations whenever foreigners in distress appealed to them. But the territory over which Tokitok held sway was, after all, of very uncertain extent. He kept his own immediate followers in order, but could not always restrain the barbarous impulses of his neighbors. Many of the eighteen tribes were in the habit of denying his authority altogether, when it suited their interest or caprice to do so, and some of them, notably the Botans, gradually withdrew themselves from the confederation, which was at no time bound together by any stricter tie than that of common convenience. Depredations and outrages began to be practised by those living to the north of his possessions, and the crews of several foreign ships were subjected to various degrees of ill-treatment. The Chinese had washed their hands of the business, and it is doubtful if their attention was again seriously called to it, until after the occurence which led, by slow degrees, to the operations presently to be recorded.

CHAPTER II.

SLAUGHTER OF RIU KIUANS—RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND RIU KIU—ANNEXATION OF THE LATTER—PROMPT ACTION FOR REDRESS—CLAIMS UPON CHINA—POLICY OF SOYEZIMA—ANCIENT JAPANESE RULE IN FORMOSA—SOYEZIMA IN PEKING—EFFECTIVE BUT IMCOMPLETE DIPLOMACY—OBJECTIONS OF IWAKURA—THE PROJECT APPARENTLY ABANDONED.

In the month of December, 1871, a large fishing and trading vessel belonging to one of the islands of the Miyako group, which lies east of Formosa, was wrecked near that part of the coast occupied by the Botans—at times allies of Tokitok, but not always subject to his rule. Fifty-four of the crew were murdered;* others escaped and carried the tidings to their people, who, like all the islanders under the authority of the Riu Kiu officials, are a mild and perfectly peaceful community. The event was wholly unprecedented in their experience. Seldom venturing far from their own shores, and knowing no adjacent lands except those of their own countrymen, to the northward, they had never conceived the possibility of a catastrophe of this description. In their first panic they applied at once for protection to the only government with which they were acquainted, that of Shuri, in the principal island of the Riu Kiu cluster. The authorities of this place were almost as timid and unsophisticated as themselves. For more than two centuries they had exercised their simple functions without much independent responsibility of action, confiding implicitly in the superior strength of the Japanese feudal lords of whom they were tributary vassals.† Apart from the fact that Riu Kiu is peopled by the same race as

* See Appendix, E. † See Appendix, A.

that of the islands of Japan, its little history has always been closely interwoven with that of the southern provinces of the Empire. That Riu Kiu was directly settled from Japan is extremely probable, and it is certain that since the twelfth century it has been steadily under the strong influence, if not the absolute control, of the Japanese. In the early part of the seventeenth century its last vestiges of independence were destroyed by the daimio of Satsuma, who sent one of the warriors of his family to subdue it and demand its submission to his dominion. This expedition is famous in Japanese annals, not more on account of the importance of the conquest than of the valor and strategetic ingenuity which are said to have been displayed by the leader. The conditions imposed by the victors were not severe. An annual tribute was required to be paid to the lord of Satsuma, and certain commercial advantages were secured; but the family of the sovereign were allowed to retain their hereditary privileges and even their nominal rank. The present Governor is the direct descendant of the ruler of that day. The habits and characteristics of the people were found to be so precisely similar to those of the Japanese that the change of authority involved no social inconveniences. The language was the same—differing only in local idioms and in certain peculiarities of pronunciation.

From the time of the Satsuma invasion until the visit of Commodore Perry in 1853, the subsidiary kingdom of Riu Kiu ceased to have a history. The government tranquilly fulfilled the few necessary forms of state, and the people followed, in successive generations, the quiet avocations of usage and tradition, and devoted their ample leisure to the study of letters, in the gentle rivalries of which they are said to have made themselves distinguished. When the local authorities of the capital of Riu Kiu were appealed to by the terrified inhabitants of Miyako Sima, they naturally turned for relief to the provincial Court of Satsuma. But events had just occured in Japan which made it necessary to transfer their application to a higher tribunal. The great change in the political system of the Empire

had taken place a few months before, and the feudal rights of the daimios had been surrendered to the central government. Satsuma was powerless to deal with the question, and it was suggested that a commission be sent directly from Riu Kiu to Tokio, (Yedo) to consider and discuss not only this subject, but also the whole matter of the relationship of the tributary kingdom toward the newly re-organized nation. In the summer of 1872 a deputation consequently arrived, including among its members the King's son, and the principal Ministers of State. They were treated with the greatest possible consideration and kindness. It was agreed that Japan should undertake to afford full and efficient protection to the inhabitants of Riu Kiu and all its dependencies. The territory was to be considered as properly belonging to the Japanese Empire. The ruler, from obvious necessity, would be required to relinquish his sovereign title and dignities, but should receive in exchange those of a "Kuazoku," or hereditary noble of the nation. Moreover, the administration of the local government should remain in his family—a privilege granted to none of the old daimios. Those who are acquainted with the course of recent political events and with political nomenclature in Japan will understand the exact nature of the position accorded to Riu Kiu, when it is stated that while all the other provinces were converted to "ken," it alone was allowed to remain a "han."*

In regard to the atrocities of the Formosans the Japanese were prepared to take prompt action. The first question to be considered was whether any recognized government either exercised or claimed positive jurisdiction over these wild tribes. The circumstance that the western part of the island was occupied by the Chinese afforded some ground for a belief that that nation might assume the task of keeping the eastern coast in order The necessary representations were made without delay. Just at this time the Japanese had an especial claim upon the attention of the Chinese government. They had released a number of coolies from a Peruvian bark,

* See Appendix, F.

the "Maria Luz" under circumstances of great difficultv and embarrassment to themselves, and had volunteered to send them back to the homes from which they had been decoyed or abducted. The Peking officials were full of expressions of gratitude, and the moment seemed as propitious as any that could have been selected for an appeal on behalf of the injured inhabitants of the southernmost dependency of Japan. But in the negotiations that followed the Chinese allowed it to be very clearly apparent that they were not disposed to assume any responsibility in the affair. They pointed to the limits of the territory over which they held control, and plainly declared that beyond that boundary they could neither inflict punishment for past depredations nor undertake to prevent them in the future.

About this time General Le Gendre, who was undoubtedly more familiar with the local details of Eastern Formosa than any other foreigner, was passing through Japan on his way home from Amoy. He was naturally able to supply the Tokio authorities with much interesting information, and he delayed his departure in order to put them in possession of the latest intelligence from the scene of the massacre. He had again visited the chief Tokitok, and had learned in the course of his inquiries that there was reason to believe that the fifty-four Japanese who had been murdered had been mistaken for Chinese, and that the Chinese-speaking inhabitants of the south-western coast were in some way implicated in the work of destruction.* It was, therefore, in every way probable that nothing could be hoped for from Chinese intervention. The hostility of the natives would make them insensible to amicable appeals, and the government had neither the desire nor the means of applying force. It was then that the idea first began to be entertained, by certain high Japanese officials, of undertaking the settlement of the question on their own account. In point of fact there was hardly an alternative. The good faith of the

* See Appendix, G.

government was pledged, and it was impossible to pass unnoticed the outrage of the winter of 1871. It only remained to determine the means by which the purpose should be carried into effect.

The most vigorous and daring member of the Cabinet, at that period, was Soyezima Taneomi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. While most of his colleagues were content to simply accept the necessity of teaching the Botans a lesson of humanity, he speedily saw the way to the possible execution of a series of bold enterprises, which, in his belief, would lead to results of the highest advantage to Japan, and which, if successful, would certainly distinguish his administration of the Foreign Department in a way that would make his name forever eminent in his country's annals. He satisfied himself by tolerably close examination that the Japanese had at one time not only held possession of all the islands lying east of Formosa, but had also occupied and controlled the best part of Formosa itself. The historical question is, of course, one that can be absolutely determined only by a more thorough acquaintance with Asiatic records than foreigners have yet gained. There is no doubt that the Japanese were great explorers and colonizers in ancient days. There are abundant traces of their settlements even as far south as the Philippines, where their descendants still continue to live. The outlying islands about Formosa are strictly Japanese in every respect. That great numbers of these people inhabited Formosa two and three centuries ago is well attested. The chronicles of the Jesuits show that the early Dutch settlements were established under permission from the Japanese authorities who held the Western shores, and that tributes were sent from Holland to the Siogun at Yedo for the privileges granted by his officials. Soyezima, and those who adopted his views, maintained that in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Japanese were in dominant force there, and that the gradual re-occupation of the island would be nothing but the resumption of a temporarily alienated territory.* They held that the

* See Appendix, C.

establishment of a trustworthy and responsible Power on the eastern coast would be an obvious benefit to the world at large, and that the substitution of Japanese control for the barbarous misrule of the rude tribes would be universally welcomed. By their own processes of reasoning they arrived at the same conclusions as those of Admiral Bell—namely, that there could be no security without the existence of a recognized authority along the shores.

The scheme was undoubtedly a vast one, especially when considered in connection with other and kindred projects which need not here be detailed, since subsequent events rendered their execution unnecessary. It naturally met with a great deal of opposition, and the majority of the advisers of the government shrank from engaging in an undertaking entailing such heavy expense, and promising, at least for a long time to come, such inadequate recompense. But Soyezima was a man of unusual energy and resolution, and his influence was paramount. The arrangements for executing the plan steadily progressed. In the Spring of 1873, while still holding the office of Foreign Minister, he went as Ambassador to Peking chiefly to lay his designs before the Chinese government, and to obtain their views upon that and other proposed Japanese projects. His public diplomatic successes during this mission are matters of common notoriety. It was, in fact, through him that the long unsettled question of Imperial audiences was brought to a prompt solution. His success in the more private negotiations, hitherto unrevealed, was not less complete, from his own point of view, but it was afterward generally admitted that although he obtained a distinct declaration from the Chinese of their irresponsibility for the acts of the savages, and of their acquiescence in the right of Japan to send a mission to regulate the affair independently, he was unfortunate in not requiring from the evasive and crafty officials a formal expression of this avowal, in writing. The absence of documentary evidence in these particulars was at a later date treacherously turned to the disadvantage of Japan, and it was only by the

exercise of great firmness and spirit that the Chinese were ultimately compelled to abide by the language they had used in these early discussions.* The explanation of the omission to secure a permanent record of their declarations is simple. The fact of their neither exercising nor claiming control over the savage region was so commonly recognized that nothing beyond a verbal allusion to it was regarded as essential. The official chart published by the Chinese government defines the district under their jurisdiction as "bounded by moutains in the rear"—the territory of the aborigines being thus excluded. All inquiries by persons interested in an explanation of the question had led to the same conclusions. Mr. Burlingame, while investigating the "Rover" affair, had discovered that the "savages were not Chinese, but outlaws of another race, who from time "immemorial had been a sort of wrecking banditti." To demand a written acknowledgment of what was accepted as an established truth appeared both unnecessary and injudicious; and it has since been placed beyond reasonable doubt that the introduction of this issue as a disturbing element in later negociations was a foreign inspiration, and was suggested by disingenuous, and, as the event proved, unskilful advisers of the Chinese councillors.

During the residence of the Embassy in Peking, a second Formosan outrage was reported, which, although less flagrant in character, touched the Japanese even more nearly than the first, the victims in this case being inhabitants of one of the principal provinces in the island of Kiu Siu. A small vessel from the village of Kasiwasima, in Bichiu, was wrecked upon the south-eastern coast, and the crew, four in number, were stripped and plundered immediately upon landing. Their lives were spared, but the incident naturally added to the determination of the government to prosecute the demands for satisfaction.

After Soyezima's return to Tokio, the movement was [illegible]

* See Appendix, II.

possible vigor, and in the course of a few months everything would have been prepared for a combination of enterprises which, whatever their consequences, would have attracted a far greater attention and a more vivid interest than any previous Eastern events of modern times. But the return of the Embassy, under Iwakura, which had been travelling for upwards of a year in America and Europe, changed in a few weeks the entire aspect of affairs. In what precise manner the second Minister of the Crown succeeded in overthrowing the elaborate projects which had been matured during his absence it is not necessary here to inquire. He came with the prestige of an extensive foreign experience, and his rank and official position enabled him to interpose obstacles which could not be surmounted. Many of the principal Ministers resigned, Soyezima at their head. A new Cabinet was formed, and for a time nothing more was heard of the plans for the chastisement or subjugation of the Formosa marauders.

CHAPTER III.

SECRET PREPARATIONS—NECESSITY FOR CONCEALMENT—FIRST OPINIONS OF THE U. S. MINISTER—THE EXPEDITION ORGANIZED—AMERICAN ASSISTANTS—DEPARTURE FROM TOKIO—UNEXPECTED REMONSTRANCE OF MR. BINGHAM—DERANGEMENT OF PLANS—RESOLUTE ATTITUDE OF JAPANESE OFFICIALS—THE PIONEER SHIP FROM NAGASAKI—DANGERS OF THE VOYAGE—OPPOSITION OF FOREIGN DIPLOMATISTS.

It was not publicly known until the spring of 1874 that the part of the project which concerned the calling of the murderers of the Miyako islanders to account was never abandoned. The preparations, in fact, continued without interruption, though perhaps not so rapidly as before. They were carried on with great secrecy, partly for reasons of domestic policy, but chiefly from apprehensions of interference by representatives of foreign Governments. It was not supposed that this interference would necessarily be hostile, but the experience of the past few years had taught the Japanese in many mortifying ways that no important step could ever be attempted by them without receiving such criticism and unasked for counsel—often well intended, but almost invariably offensive and generally mischievous—as to hamper and trammel their most earnest efforts. To a careless observer, nothing could be more amusing than the constant disposition of the foreign diplomatic corps to exercise a system of control over the movements of the government; to the Japanese themselves it is a constant grief and humiliation. And it has now become an accepted conviction that if any great work is to be accomplished, and effectively accomplished, by the administration, it can be done only by withholding all information

regarding it until the last moment.

Thus it was with the present expedition. No fear was entertained as to the universal approval of the project. It was one which concerned not only Japan, but the whole maritime world as well. In the broadest sense, its success would ensure relief from dangers which had beset commerce for a score of years. Even in the narrowest, it could not be logically disapproved. The right of a government to take all necessary measures for the protection of its subjects could never be disputed. The Americans had undertaken the same thing, in the same region, by two different processes—first violently and afterward pacifically. The Japanese plan proposed simply a reversal of this order of proceeding. That it could by any chance be opposed never entered their calculations. But their well grounded dread of foreign meddling kept them from betraying their purpose, even to their own officials, beyond the circle of those who were necessarily engaged in the preliminary arrangements.

It was, however, found desirable to make one partial exception. Foreign assistance was requisite to a certain extent. That of General Le Gendre, who was more completely master of the situation in Formosa than any other individual, was already secured. Possibly out of deference to his inclinations, possibly from a feeling that the United States, not forgetful of the "Rover" and "Hartford" affairs, would look with particularly sympathetic interest upon the movement, it was decided that Americans should be selected for certain positions of trust and responsible agency. Lieutenant Commander Douglas Cassel, of the United States' Navy, was invited to a confidential post and offered the rank of Commodore in the Japanese service. Lieutenant James R. Wasson, formely of the United States' Engineers, who had been for some years attached to the Yezo Colonization Department, was engaged to superintend the construction of field works, should such become necessary at any time; and was appointed a colonel in the Japanese army. The first named gentleman being on

active duty at Yokohama it was necessary to request the Navy Department at Washington to allow him leave of absence. In order to obtain the co-operation of the United States' Envoy in Japan, certain preliminary details of the plan were laid before him, together with a statement of the service in which Lieutenant Commander Cassel would be expected to engage. The Minister consented to subscribe to a telegram, which was immediately sent to Washington, declaring briefly that, in his opinion, the transfer of services would be beneficial to both nations—the United States and Japan. The response was a prompt acquiescence in the desire of the Tokio authorities. The expedition was duly organized with Okuma Sigenobu, of the Imperial Council, as chief commissioner; General Le Gendre as his associate; General Saigo of the War Department, as commissioner and commander of the forces, and Messrs. Cassel and Wasson as foreign assistants.

This was in March, 1874, about one month before the date originally fixed for the departure of the expedition. The remainder of the time was occupied in adjusting such details as were necessary to the complete preparation of a project of this magnitude. Numerous ships had been engaged, most of them belonging to the government, but some of the largest chartered from foreigners. For the transportation of some thousands of troops, more spacious vessels than any owned by the Japanese were desirable. Among others the British steamship "Yorkshire" and the Pacific Mail steamship "New York" were secured. There was always a sort of vague apprehension that the British Minister might interpose some objection to the use of the "Yorkshire" though no one could foresee upon what grounds it could possibly be based, and for this reason no very positive reliance was placed upon that ship. But in regard to the "New York" no such idea was entertained. Her great size and abundant accommodations made her of the extremest importance to the convenience of the Japanese and even to the success of the expedition. It would have been no serious matter to proceed without her if she had been entirely excluded from the order of arrange-

ments, but, once engaged and depended upon, she became almost indispensable. As to any question of her not being permitted to fulfil her contract, nobody dreamed of such a thing. The United States' Minister was the only person who could interrupt her progress, and he had been fully informed of the expedition. Moreover, his views upon the subject of the right of Japan to independent action, unmolested by foreign interference of any description, were sufficiently notorious. From the first moment of his arrival in the country, six months before, his course had been distinguished by one broad and general principle which he lost few opportunities of declaring with much earnestness—that of protection and encouragement to Japan in resisting the endeavors of other representatives from abroad to guide or fetter the free course of her government.

The first ships of the expedition sailed during the second week in April, from Sinagawa, a port on the bay of Yedo, about five miles from the capital. By this time rumors of the movement were circulating in Yokohama, and the purposes of the administration were discussed with the airy and ignorant audacity which always distinguishes the tone of that lively little community when dealing with Japanese topics. It is the rule of the majority of the Yokohama populace and press to assail every action which the government may undertake, either with clumsy ridicule or coarse abuse. Both methods were applied in the present instance. Nothing whatever was accurately known of the intentions of the authorities, but the wildest fictions were invented or assumed, and put forward with a reckless disregard of honesty and decency which is common enough there under similar circumstances, but which is probably equalled in no other spot upon the face of the earth. In this case the contagion rose to a somewhat higher level than usual. The Russian Chargé d'Affaires published a proclamation forbidding Russian ships and subjects to participate in the expedition. As there were no Russian ships at Yokohama, and only about six Russian subjects in all Japan, the proclamation was looked upon as coming within the

ship to proceed to Nagasaki to await further instructions. Nagasaki, although the rendezvous for a great part of the fleet, was a point entirely remote from that to which the "Hokai Maru" was destined, and the change involved not only the annoyance of delay and the material consideration of increased expense, but also the absolute derangement of plans which had been long settled, and upon which the whole of the early operations of the enterprise were to turn. But the orders of the Prime Minister could not be disregarded, and the ship arrived at Nagasaki on the 25th of the month.

Here it was soon evident that serious difficulties had arisen, and that others, possibly more awkward, were likely to follow. Within twenty-four hours it became known to the commissioners that General Le Gendre had also received a letter of protest from Mr. Bingham, and that secret orders had been sent to the agent of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company to delay or altogether obstruct the departure of the "New York." This last impediment, under the circumstances, was a real calamity. The possibility of difficulties in the case of the "Yorkshire" had been foreseen, and affairs had been so arranged that her aid could be relinquished without serious embarrassment, but no shadow of anxiety had been felt in regard to the "New York." And now it turned out that the "Yorkshire" would only be forbidden to touch at any of the open Chinese ports—which, as it happened, had never been contemplated—while the further progress of the American vessel was absolutely prohibited. The worst of the business was that the agent had been instructed to withhold all information as to the cause of his action. It was impossible to discover by what means the Company's servants had been wrought upon to the extent of persuading them to violate their contract, and to the question whether it was intended to prevent the voyage entirely, or only to check it for a while, no satisfactory answer could be obtained. The mystery and obscurity of the proceeding were its worst features. The Japanese officials felt that there wasn othing dignified

in the opposition thus exhibited, and did not hesitate to stigmatize it as a transaction in which low cunning had been arrayed against them instead of open and honorable antagonism. Although they were in the dark as to the particular influences at work, it was not very difficult to conjecture whence the mischievous interference came. It would be useless to conceal that they were greatly disturbed and harassed. They were not without misfortunes of their own. The "Hokai Maru," which was one of their finest ships, had met with a serious accident, and, having suffered from severe weather on her way from Sinagawa, lay disabled and temporarily useless in the harbor of Nagasaki. They were, therefore, all the more dependent upon the "New York." Troops, stores, supplies of every kind were waiting to be transferred to her, but, in the uncertainty of the prospect, it was useless to go on with the work. The whole course of the expedition was stopped and the action of its leaders paralyzed. Meanwhile the time assigned for the performance of the special labors assigned to Messrs. Cassel and Wasson was passing away. The situation was extremely critical, and the secret machinations in Tokio had already produced injurious effects that for a time seemed almost irreparable.

Fortunately for the national credit, the officials charged with the conduct of the enterprise were men of much firmness and resolution, and were not to be lightly turned from their convictions of duty. The Americans were united in declaring that nothing less than the most direct and positive orders of their own government should induce them to withdraw. They were not at all disposed to allow their good faith to be trifled away by a petulant interposition which commanded neither their sympathy nor respect. It was speedily arranged that Messrs. Cassel and Wasson should proceed without delay to the execution of their tasks by such conveyance as could be hastily secured. A Japanese vessel-of-war was first selected, but this was found to be unsuitable. A small chartered steamship was afterward chosen as the best for the purpose that could be ob-

tained, although wretchedly inadequate in every essential requisite. On board this craft, already overloaded with stores, the necessary troops were crowded in haste. and the first real advance was made from Nagasaki on the night of the 27th.

It is not, perhaps, necessary to describe the tormenting discomforts and the dangers of the early part of that voyage, but they may at least be touched upon, if only to show to what extremities of hardship men may be brought under the necessity of fulfilling their obligations in spite of vexatious and dispiriting obstacles. More than two hundred and fifty person, were put on board a vessel which, under the most favorable circumstances could not properly accommodate one hundred. She was already heavily laden with stores and munitions, and her condition was not such as to warrant even the ordinary risks of an ocean passage. The mere sanitary dangers of sailing thus overcrowded into an unwholesome climate were by no means inconsiderable, especially in view of the careless and disease-inviting habits of the Japanese on shipboard. But there was worse to be apprehended. Speaking without the slightest purpose of exaggeration, and conscious of an habitual inclination to underrate rather than fully recognize the chances of personal peril, I say that on more than one occasion these two hundred and fifty men stood, probably without consciousness of their actual situation, trembling upon the brink of eternity. And it is fatally certain that nothing but the most favoring weather—it was almost unchangingly mild and fair from Nagasaki to Amoy—prevented a catastrophe which, let us hope, would have brought something like serious reflection to the minds of those whose rash and selfish eagerness to interfere in a business which in no wise concerned them would have been the chief occasion of the disaster.

Mr. Bingham's own views of his relations to the initiatory steps of the expedition were communicated to the State Department at Washington, and have since been imparted to the world. It is desirable to set forth the facts as they were understood and represented at the time by the

people, was committing an act of war against China. Upon the mass of argument brought forward to sustain this position and to intimidate the Japanese by stigmatizing them as wanton violators of the public law of nations it would now be superflous to dwell. With the admission of the Chinese government—which though long deferred was conclusive and unconditional enough when it came—that Japan was fully and honorably justified in her course, all this ponderous and elaborate structure of misrepresentation melted like the baseless fabric of a vision. It never fulfilled its intended purpose of terrifying the government from the fulfilment of their designs; but it was productive of incalculable embarrassments, and often threatened to overthrow the most substantial results of the enterprise. It was my good fortune, personally, to be situated at a distance from the scene of these diplomatic intrigues, and to take part in experiences of more active interest, and, I regret to say, of greater novelty than the attempts of Western Ministers to shape the course of Japanese policy in conformity with their selfish will or frivolous caprice.

CHAPTER IV.

AMOY—NEW OBSTACLES—DEFECTION OF AN ENGLISH AGENT—CONSULAR AUTOCRACY—OPINIONS OF U. S. OFFICIALS—VOYAGE ACROSS FORMOSA STRAIT—THE "YUKO MARU" ANCHORED IN LIANGKIAO BAY.

THE "Yuko Maru" entered the harbor of Amoy on the morning of May 3d. Immediately upon landing, the officers attached to this part of the expedition discovered that new difficulties had fallen in their way, all of which were easily traced to the delays occasioned by foreign interposition in Tokio. The active opponents were now the English officials in China, and especially the Consul at Amoy. They would, however, have been in no position to interfere but for the previous interruptions at Sinagawa and Nagasaki. The services of an English physician, long familiar with the southern districts of Formosa, and acquainted, to a certain extent, with the dialects of the various tribes, had been engaged, and he had been instructed to hold himself in readiness by the 15th of April. Directions had been sent for the purchase of cattle, horses and small boats, all of which had been duly carried out at the appointed time. But the 15th had passed without even the departure from Japan of the ship destined for Amoy. By this time communications had been exchanged between the foreign representatives at Tokio and Peking, and the most distorted and unwarranted impressions forced upon the authorities of the Chinese capital. What particular demands these latter may have made upon the English Minister cannot be known with certainty; but the agent of the Japanese at Amoy presently received notifications from his Consul which induced him to suddenly abandon his share in the undertaking and

sail for home in great haste. That gross misrepresentations had been made in some quarter was evident from the fact that among the excuses which he left behind him was a bald statement that Japan had declared war against China—an impudent assumption which assuredly could not have originated with himself, and which, from its enormity, must undoubtedly have proceeded from some person whose station would be supposed to protect him from the consequences of so outrageous a fabrication. While the English in Amoy believed or affected to believe it, the Chinese evidently did not, or they would have taken measures to institute inquiry during the two days that the "Yuko Maru" lay in the harbor. They did nothing of the sort. The Japanese officers were in free communication with the native authorities, and the soldiers wandered about on shore and though the labyrinth of unwholesome streets without the shadow of a suggestion that their presence was unwelcome. It was frequently hinted by English residents that the Chinese were in a state of great irritation, and even that they were preparing to send a fleet to Formosa to put a stop to the whole proceeding, but, coming from so untrustworthy a source, the rumors were not thought worthy of consideration. But the effect upon the only individual with whom the Japanese were concerned was only too plain. He had retired in haste, ordered the sale of all the cattle and materials, and left no suggestions by which the inconveniences arising from his defection could be remedied. This, I suppose, may be taken as a fair instance of the extraordinary power held over British subjects in the East by their diplomatic and consular officers. It is a power which those who have not witnessed its application, upon the spot, can with difficulty understand, and to the arbitary exercise of which it seems incredible that there can be

* "The fact of war having been declared shows me that I am expected to espouse the cause of Japan versus China"....."I am already suspected and have had semi-official warning to be careful. This I cannot disregard."—*Extract from Letter of P. Manson Apr.* 19. 1874. The only commentary that these statements require is that war not only had not then been declared or even contemplated, but, in point of fact, was never declared.

such unquestioning submission as generally prevails. And, singularly enough, the English are, as a class, unaware that they exist here under a species of petty despotism. They would laugh at the idea if it were presented to them in this straight-forward shape, but no fact is better established in the minds of disinterested observers than that in case of a conflict of opinion between the individual British resident and his official superior, the former is virtually without a will or a power of action of his own. A second example of this truth was supplied during the brief stay of the "Yuko Maru" at Amoy. A pilot named Patterson expressed much eagerness to accompany the ship, in the double capacity of guide to the various harbors and interpreter; but before his wishes had been taken into consideration, by the Japanese, he received warning from the Consul that if he persisted in his application, he should be punished by imprisonment for two years. There was no question of criminal accusation or trial, but a simple autocratic decree, with peremptory threats of heavy penalty in case of disobedience.

It was gratifying to observe that all these efforts at interruption or intimidation had less than a feather's weight with the leaders of this branch of the enterprise. As speed was now a matter of moment, the idea of obtaining horses and cattle was set aside until a more convenient time. The shallow Chinese boats, required for landing in Formosa, were hastily bought, and with the assistance of a mandarin, attached to the U. S. Consulate, interpreters were secured. It may be well to place on record the fact that the officers of the United States—regularly and casually stationed at Amoy—were at this time as far as possible from sharing the unreasoning hostility displayed by representatives of other nations. They had yet received no instructions to assume an inimical attitude, and were free to express their own convictions as to the purposes of the expedition. The Consul, Mr. J. J. Henderson, was sufficiently well acquainted with the subject to know that the course of the Japanese was one which, if successful,

must be for the advantage of the whole maritime world, and was entirely open in the expression of this conviction. Holding the opinions that he unhesitatingly avowed, the causes of his action in arresting General Le Gendre, at a later date, are as difficult of comprehension as any other part of that extraordinary proceeding. The officers of the U. S. Steamship "Monocacy" were of course familiar with what Americans had undergone at the hands of the Formosa aborigines, and their sympathies were unconcealed. Personally, their kindness and consideration toward members of the party were in the highest degree memorable and gratifying.

The "Yuko Maru" arrived at Amoy on the morning of the 3d. On the evening of the 5th she was ready for the new and final departure. At half past six P. M. she sailed for her destination. The passage across Formosa Strait was made in the night. The weather, which had appeared threatening at Amoy, was fortunately fine again, and although the dreary discomforts of the renewed voyage were not less than those of the journey from Nagasaki, there was a sense of security which the treacherous reputation of this channel does not always warrant. The shores of Formosa were indistinctly seen throughout the greater part of the day. The lofty mountains of the interior were at times visible, but were mostly enfolded by thick mists. The sun had set before the ship had reached the place at which the first communications were to be opened with the inhabitants. At nine o'clock she entered Liangkiau Bay, and was occupied for an hour in finding a suitable anchorage. At ten she lay tranquilly off the shore of a region which, though afterward found to be inhabited by people of widely different character from the aborigines, was then, in the minds of the visitors, so far identified with the savage district as to make them all extremely observant and alert. Nothing like active hostility was really apprehended at this point, but the night was dark, and they were in strange waters under strange circumstances. Guards were therefore posted in the gangways, and other judicious precautions were taken. There were signs

of bustle and watchfulness on the shore, which was apparently about a mile distant. Bright lights moved from place to place, and the indications of activity were greater than seemed natural at such an hour in villages of the kind which were known to exist in this locality. There was little sleep on board the "Yuko Maru" during the night, for the first clear view of the surrounding country had yet to be taken, and most of the soldiers were too eager for a glimpse of their new region of adventure, as well as for the developments of the following day, to be satisfied with the inactivity of repose. Only the old campaigners turned to rest with their usual tranquillity. The novices passed the hours in lively debate, of which the romance of wild conjecture and audacious prophecy was the guiding inspiration.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST COMMUNICATION WITH THE SHORE—THE INTERPRETER JOHNSON—LIANG-KIAO BAY—INTERVIEW WITH NATIVE VILLAGERS—THEIR APPEARANCE AND DEMEANOR—EFFECTS OF BETEL-NUT CHEWING—ANNOUNCEMENT OF JAPANESE INTENTIONS.

BEFORE sunrise on the morning of the 7th, one of the Chinese interpreters engaged at Amoy went on shore, in accordance with instructions prepared in Tokio, to seek certain natives of some standing among their fellow-villagers and bring them on board the ship for a conference. In this, as in other minute details, the formal directions issued by the Japanese government were of the most explicit character, and were so arranged as to regulate, at this stage of proceedings, every successive step in the movement with scrupulous discretion. This is important to be remembered, as the gradual course of affairs will show with what caution it was determined to avoid very appearance of aggression, except as a last resource.

The interpreter charged with this preliminary mission was the least like his countrymen of any native of China it had ever been my fortune to encounter. In the first place, he had no tail—a marvellous circumstance for one of his race living in his own land, however trivial it may seem to the Western mind. In the next, he had learned to completely free himself from the timidity of his nation, having travelled over nearly all the world, and passed many years in the United States, of which he was a naturalized citizen, and where he had served with a New Jersey regiment during the war. He spoke English with perfect ease and tolerable precision, and, having often visited Formosa, was on good terms with the inhabitants of

many places included in the plan of Japanese operations. He looked upon the people of this particular locality as ancient friends and allies.

While he was absent, there was little to be done except to observe, somewhat superficially of course, the general surroundings of our position. Liangkiao Bay is a mere indentation in the coast, of very little value as a harbor, and affording complete protection only from north-east, east and south-east winds. To the west and north it is entirely open. It is situated in latitude 22 degrees 6 minutes N. and longitude 120 degrees 42 minutes W., and is thus accurately set down upon the most recent charts. The mouths of two small rivers were just discernible, upon the beach, from the ship's deck. The line of the shore is low and sandy for a few miles, and then rises in lofty bluffs, to the north and south. The country hereabout had certainly little appearance of fertility, although evidently cultivated with considerable care. Even near the coast, the ground is extremely irregular and the whole valley, which is of limited extent, is closely encircled by mountains some thousands of feet in height. These are covered with vegetation, though not apparently of a luxuriant or even a healthy growth.

Soon after six o'clock, the interpreter—whose native name having been once heard and not admired was suffered to lie in obscurity, and who had fortunately adopted, with his other Republican privileges, the Anglo Saxon surname of Johnson—returned with the persons for whom he had been sent. These were sons and near relations of the "head man" of the village of Sialiao, who had served General Le Gendre as guides at the time of his visit in 1872. They were at once received by Lieut. Commander Cassel, between whom and the oldest of their number, named Miya, a conversation of much interest ensued. The information to be conveyed to these men had been preconcerted in Tokio, and was imparted as follows.

They were told that the government of Japan had determined to send an expedition to aboriginal Formosa, to punish the Botans for the murder of Japanese subjects in December, 1871; that the Sovereign of

that Empire was at first greatly incensed at the people of the Liangkiao valley for not having undertaken to chastise the offenders in the same manner as, in conformity with the agreement entered into with the U. S. Consul in 1867, they would have dealt with them if they had molested Americans; that later investigations had shown that the Sialiao people had really not been indifferent to the fate of the shipwrecked Riu Kiuans, but had aided General Le Gendre in his inquiries concerning their fate, in return for which, orders had been given to protect them from all annoyances that they might apprehend in consequence of the presence of a foreign force; that twenty-five thousand soldiers were ready to start for Formosa at the shortest notice, should they ever be needed, but that, if trustworthy assurance of the co-operation of the Sialiao communities and the tribes of Tokitok could be obtained, only the advance body, a few thousand in number, would be brought. The native deputation, through Miya, promptly answered that they were ready to afford all the assistance in their power, and to give the troops every facility for landing and encamping. They could not speak for the savage tribes, in regard to which they had no new intelligence to give, except that of the recent death of Tokitok and the succession of his eldest son. These subjects having been disposed of for the moment, an offer was made to engage the services of Miya and one of his companions, as mediums of communication between the Japanese and their own people at the outset, and, subsequently, the inhabitants of Southern Formosa in general. The proposal was readily accepted, and the interview terminated as satisfactorily as could be desired. It could hardly be otherwise to the islanders, for the sum offered them was not only liberal, but was probably munificent beyond their largest expectations. It was even a question whether such excessively open-handed treatment might not prove an inconvenient precedent, although the exact terms had been laid down by the authorities in Japan.

Before returning to the land, the visitors wandered for a while about

the ship, curiously examining its contents and appointments, which they were of course permitted to do as freely as they wished. They, also, were subjected to some scrutiny, but there was little about them to reward prolonged attention, although they were of the family of the chief of the village. Their dress was precisely like that of the lower classes of Amoy —a loose jacket, and wide breeches reaching a little below the knee. They wore light turbans twisted about their heads, and their only ornaments were red cords wound about their long tails, with here and there a bright coin braided in, and rude silver bracelets fastened about the wrists. Though not particularly voluble, their mouths were never inactive. The betel nut furnished continual occupation for their teeth and lips. Their cheeks were distended to an extent which the most inordinate chewer of tobacco could not rival, by masses of red pulp, from which streams of stained saliva overflowed the gums, discoloring the whole interior of the mouth with an unwholesome pinkish hue. The nuts were sometimes so large as to protrude between the teeth, producing an effect half ghastly, half grotesque, and shedding ruddy rivulets upon the cheeks and chin. Except in the persistent indulgence in this habit, there was little to distinguish these men from the Chinese of Amoy. Even their dialect was not materially different. They had a sort of openness and independence of bearing which would not be found in a crowded Chinese city; which is doubtless attributable to their freedom from oppressive authority and their self-reliant ways of life. The countenance of the oldest of the party, Miya, indicated much more vigor of character than that of any of his fellows. His young cousin, a lad of apparently twenty years, was singularly gifted with good looks, for one of his race. He was tall and slender, with remarkably delicate features, and an expression which would have been extremely winning and agreeable but for the disfiguring tint about his lips.

Having sufficiently gratified their instincts of observation, these magnates of Sialiao re-embarked to announce, at their homes, and prepare for,

an impending visit from the new comers. It was interesting to observe that, from this moment, the behavior of the Japanese troops underwent a significant change in one important particular. During the voyage they had given little indication of a habit of strict submission to military authority. They had carelessly disposed themselves about the ship in the manner that best suited their convenience, and had apparently neither sought nor received special instructions as to their general line of conduct. At Amoy they had manifested an uncontrollable impatience to get on shore, and no obstacle was put in the way of their desire. All this had given rise to suspicions, on the part of some who were inexperienced in Japanese idiosyncracies, that the principle of discipline was entirely excluded from their system. The fact is, that great laxity prevails at times when the performance of actual duty is not required; but when the occasion for serious service arises, the instinct of implicit obedience reasserts itself, without the necessity for any kind of admonition. On this occasion, the announcement that no landing in force could take place for a considerable time was received with as prefect content as it would have been by soldiers of Western nationalities. While engaged in important operations, the discipline of the Japanese was always found to be sufficient. But in periods of inaction their restlessness would betray itself by unmistakeable signs, although it never, during this expedition, reached such a point as to require very positive demonstrations of authoritative displeasure.

CHAPTER VI.

A PARTY OF INSPECTION—THE VILLAGE OF SIALIAO AND ITS INHABITANTS—EXPLORATION OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD—GENERAL ASPECT OF THE LOCALITY—UNEXPECTED EFFECT OF A WEDDING FESTIVAL.

At eight o'clock, a few of the higher Japanese officers, with the American attachés, went on shore for the purpose of selecting a suitable site upon which to establish a camp for the expected force of three thousand men. It may be mentioned, as a further proof of the caution with which the Japanese plans were arranged, that the instructions under which Lieut. Commander Cassel acted, required him to ascertain if any objection would be made to the landing, by authorities representing the Chinese government; and, in case such objection were offered, to abandon the position and proceed to a point some distance further south. Here, again, he was to make inquiries, and, in the event of a similar result, was once more to seek a remoter place of debarkation. If he should be still opposed, he was this time to effect a landing in spite of resistance, and by force, should that be necessary. This last designated spot being, beyond all question, outside of Chinese jurisdiction, no hesitation was felt as to ordering decisive action. With regard to the other two—as some kind of claim, either genuine or assumed, might possibly be put forward, it was considered expedient and judicious to relinquish them, rather than risk the chances of future complication. But no indisposition to receive the troops was shown, and the work went on according to the first intentions.*

* "Should Captain Cassel find Sialiao occupied by Chinese troops or should his occupation

The boat containing the surveying party entered one of the little rivers, which is accessible only at high tide, its mouth being obstructed by a sand bar, and worked its way inland a few rods, to the village over which the father of Miya presides. The first to land was Major Fukusima, the Japanese officer in command of the small body of marines attached to this part of the expedition. The entire settlement was found to consist of about a dozen houses, the outward appearance of which was truly extraordinary in such a place. They are of one story, and neatly built of cemented stone and fine red brick. The roofs are of compact tiles, and the spaces upon the walls beneath the ridge-lines are decorated with simple bas-reliefs. The interiors are substantial and tolerably clean, and in every conceivable way superior to the quarters of the inhabitants of Chinese coast cities. There is not, for example, a dwelling house to be found in all Amoy that can be compared in architectural pretension, convenience, and tidiness, with those of the Formosan village of Sialiao. They are generally double edifices, two structures of equal size, perhaps twenty-five feet square, standing one behind the other, partially separated by a court-yard of nearly the same dimensions, but connected by narrow passages on each side. In the rear are out-houses, for cooking, etc. The floors of most of the main buildings, and of the yards, are paved with large square bricks or stones. Furniture is not profuse, but what there is of it is solid and serviceable. There are arm-chairs, especially, that would not discredit a New England farm house. Tables are abundant, but are less elaborate in form and ornamentation. The beds are generally mere shelves, set in recesses, though one or two are of quite a stately build. Many of the panels in the walls are embellished with rough Chinese designs, which show that, al-

thereof be opposed by any one clearly representing the constituted authorities of China, he will not use force to remove these obstructions but will proceed to anchorage No. 2, a few miles further south. Should he be prevented from landing at anchorage No. 2, then he will go to anchorage No. 3, where, with the aid of his guides, he will effect a landing, by force if necessary, and maintain his position until the arrival of the High Commissioner."—*Extract from Letter of Okuma Sigenobu to Gen. Le Gendre. Apr.* 13. 1874.

though the political authority of China is in no way recognized here, its limited artistic influences to some extent prevail. Against the back wall of the rear house of each establishment stands a Budist shrine, with the appropriate tablets and images. The rude weapons of the locality are conspicuously displayed :—old matchlock guns, in as good condition as such instruments can be ; short swords in curious wooden scabbards, which are so constructed as to cover only one side of the blade, the other lying exposed ; bows and iron-pointed arrows, and variously fashioned spears and lances. The prevalence of these weapons shows, if not a warlike disposition on the part of the inhabitants, a sense of the necessity for familiarity with their use. There was not a native that came in sight during the whole of this first day who was not fully armed and ready for hostile action.

In the enclosed spaces about the houses, pigs and chickens were gathered in great numbers. They are regular articles of food, together with fish, rice, eggs, millet, barley and sweet potatoes. The few streets were principally in possession of droves of "water buffalos," small light-colored animals, with retreating horns, the points of which are in a direct line with their noses. These appear to be the most useful beasts of the neighborhood. They are employed for all sorts of draught purposes, and are not unfrequently ridden as we ride horses. The edges of the streams were filled with ducks, which are valuable for the eggs that they supply.

During this first brief visit to the houses of the chiefs, the populace clustered about in all available strength, inspecting and discussing the strangers with complete freedom from diffidence, and the easiest possible unconsciousness that their close companionship was not a boon. The costume of the better class of the men was that which I have described as belonging to Miya and his associates ; that of the inferiors was a waist and loin cloth of the most abbreviated form consistent with decency. The women were clad precisely like the "head men," almost all of them wearing a silver bracelet on each wrist. Their hair was braided into long

tails, and wound about with white cords. In some instances it was furthermore adorned with artificial flowers, and two matrons from the mountains, each of whom, by-the-bye, had with her a really beautiful child, were distinguished by heavy gold ear-rings and other glittering trinkets. Few of these women were naturally disagreeable in appearance, and many would have been pleasing but for the ugly erubescence about their mouths. Children were plentiful—apparently too numerous for the supply of raiment on hand. The majority of them, up to the age of seven or eight years, had nothing on but dirt. In the whole village there were just two women of genuine Chinese aspect, with gum-stiffened and fantastically plaited hair, and stunted feet about four inches long.

In order to obtain a favorable view of the valley, and to fix upon a proper camping ground, it was thought desirable to ascend a small hill, some three hundred feet in height, close to the shore, and overlooking the entire neighborhood. The pathway to the foot of this elevation, the Chinese name of which is "Ku San," signifying Tortoise Hill, led through fields of barley and sweet potatoes, and touched upon two or three hamlets of greatly inferior quality to that at which we had landed. There were no brick houses to be seen amongst them, and the best of the dwellings were mud huts with coarsely thatched roofs. The whole surface of the plain, excepting where it was under rough cultivation, seemed sterile and sandy. Sage-brush was common enough, but hardly any other kind of shrubbery. Clusters of low palm-trees and of the pandanus, so thick as to form an almost impenetrable jungle, were abundant. It was not difficult, while passing through them, to thoroughly understand the hopelessness of any effort at abrupt invasion like that attempted in the "Hartford" expedition. Every rod of the tangled and winding foot-path afforded fresh opportunity for ambuscades that could not be approached without a perfect knowledge of the country; and even then could not be successfully assaulted by the methods usually at the command of invading armies.

The passage up the hill-side was troublesome and fatiguing. The way was narrow and abrupt, through irregular gullies and over sharp and broken masses of coralloid rock, and the heat was excessive. The Japanese officers, who still held to the fur-trimmed jackets of the uniform in which they had left Tokio, suffered extremely. The Americans, less heavily clad, were perhaps a degree more comfortable, but the difference of a degree, under such oppressive conditions, was not distinctly appreciable.

From the top of the hill, the entire Sialiao or Liangkiao valley, apparently about fifteen square miles in extent, was visible. It is surrounded by a range which averages perhaps two thousand feet in height, and which resembles, though on a limited scale, the chain of mountains that encloses Salt Lake valley, in Utah. While we stood upon this summit, the report of a gun from below attracted our attention. A procession of twenty or thirty men and women was seen entering the plain from an opening in the hills, all with weapons which glistened in the sunlight, and preceded by a leader bearing a red flag. Three other shots were fired in swift succession, and for a moment it seemed possible, to our inexperienced minds, that a deputation might have come in from the wild tribes, especially as a red flag was the signal of recognition agreed upon in the old convention with General Le Gendre. But this prospect of diversion from the regular order of proceedings was set aside by the intelligence that the demonstration was nothing more than the ordinary accompaniment of marriage festivals, one of which was in progress at the moment.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HOSPITALITIES OF LIANGKIAO—A PIG SACRIFICED—SHOCKS TO NATIVE DELICACY—A SIALIAO BANQUET—SECOND TOUR OF INVESTIGATION—PERSONAL EXPERIENCES—A CONVOCATION OF INQUISITIVE FEMALES—VIVACIOUS BUT UNPRODUCTIVE COLLOQUIES.

After returning to the village, where it was necessary to remain quiet during the heat of noon, a proposition was made by Miya to kill a pig. Nobody wanted pig, and nobody had any sort of desire to see one killed, but, as the offer seemed to imply hospitality, we were disinclined to make objections. It would have been a pity, all thought, to throw cold water upon the first glow of native goodwill. It turned out, in the sequel, that we need have given ourselves no concern on this point. Miya, though on kindness bent, had yet a frugal mind. A somewhat hesitating offer of payment, when we left, was accepted without any hesitation whatever. The pig was speared and slaughtered in full view of the visitors, a couple of chickens were arrowed out of existence, and preparations set in for a feast of generous magnitude. Everbody around was invited, or invited himself, and a merry bustle of anticipation spread over the scene, which might have touched the strangers more deeply than it did, if they had known that they themselves, and not the apparent hosts, were the responsible founders of the entertainment.

Whilst the cooking progressed, a few of the Japanese subalterns, following the unconquerable instinct of their race, sought out tubs of water and, divesting themselves of the greater part of their clothing, proceeded to refresh themselves with an extemporized bath. Presently appeared an inter-

preter with a message of moment from Master Miya. He and his family were shocked at the personal exposure, and he begged that the strangers would not continue a practice so repugnant to the feelings of the feminine half of his community. He could not see the necessity for any such operation—from which darkness of vision it might be possible to trace a strong ethnological bond between these people of Sialiao and the Chinese. An average Chinaman, it has been said, can go from his cradle to the grave without knowing what a bath is, and never feeling that he has left unfulfilled a single obligation of that attribute which is next to godliness. A Japanese can hardly live from sunrise to sunset without getting himself under hot or cold water. To some of us, the remonstrance of Miya seemed simply a piece of superb audacity. In view of the facts that nine tenths of his companions had only about six inches of covering upon their bodies, and that the women themselves were bare legged to a considerable altitude, it appeared, if in the remote East I may venture upon an apt and expressive idiom of the West, not yet adopted into refined vocabularies but employed with effect on this occasion by the interpreter Johnson—that his "cheek" was capable of more than the accommodation of unlimited betel-nut. I should be sorry to misconceive the motives of the son of Sialiao's "head man," but I am afraid I never shall be brought to believe that his complaint had any other basis than a desire to assert his dignity and the right of the first families of Formosa to make a fuss at the earliest convenient opportunity. As there was, however, a dim chance that he might be sincere, he was given the benefit of the doubt and humored accordingly. Bathing was suspended, and the ladies of the household cooked on without impediment.

At noon the meal was served, and was duly disposed of by such as were hungry. I think I am bound to say that it was more heartily enjoyed by the native participators than by those who paid for it. The pig and chickens had been hastily dressed and only partially cooked, according

to Western ideas of culinary completeness. The rice which accompanied them was, however, as palatable as need be, and with this our appetite was sufficiently satisfied, while the more imposing accessaries of the banquet were promptly absorbed by those who were better accustomed to such dishes. A little later, a new tour of investigation was undertaken with the object of examining more closely the places that had appeared, from the hill-top, eligible for camp sites. A couple of catamarans were engaged to take the party up the shallow river. As the world at large may not know what a "catamaran" is, I hasten to explain that it is a water conveyance made of poles about twelve feet long, bound together by strings of bark into something like the shape of a shallow flat bottomed boat. There is no planking, and, of course, no attempt to keep the water out. It is propelled, like Chinese boats generally, by oars which are not pulled, but pushed, the rower standing with his face toward the head of the frail craft. Upon these the Japanese and American officers were transported a quarter of a mile up stream, where they again landed to pursue their observations on foot. The water was deep at this point and the spot was shady. For my own part, I had no fancy for further violent exercise, and the opportunity was tempting. It was not probable that the sensibilities of Miya's gentlewomen could be affected at the distance of a quarter of a mile, so I remained behind. As speedily as possible I was among the fishes, and was surprised to find the water almost uncomfortably warm, notwithstanding the near proximity to the mountain sources. I had hardly emerged when an irresistible drowsiness seized me, and I fell asleep half dressed and with my feet in the stream.

I was awakened by a noisy plashing, and found myself partly surrounded by a semi-circle of inquisitive buffalos, which had stopped on their way across the river to inspect the new animal that had come among them. Their heads were thrown up till the tips of their horns seemed to grow out of their backs, and their noses were stretched forward to the utmost limit.

They gazed with silent intensity until I suddenly started up, when they snorted violently, turned about as if on a pivot, and gallopped away with tails as rigid as bayonets. Then I was alone, my boatmen having roamed apart and left me to my own devices. Presently dogs came out of the jungle, and barked inhospitably, and refused to respond to friendly advances all of which they took for signs of timidity and acted upon aggressively until they were met by a defiant gesture, when they, too, turned tail and fled with wolfish howls. After another brief term of solitude, the bushes parted on the opposite bank, and a woman stepped forth. There was a ford, a few rods above where I sat, which she, slipping off her trousers, began to cross. The water was not deep there, and she came jauntily on until half way over, when her eyes fell upon me. She was as much astonished as the cattle had been, and, her attention being turned from her proper route, she missed the bar in a moment, and slipped into a depth which may or may not have been awkward to her, but certainly would have been to me under similar circumstances. I presume that, according to the social usages of the Liangkiao valley, the first requisite in exigencies of this kind is to keep the clothing dry. The result, here, was an abrupt departure from that lofty standard of delicacy which Miya's dainty anxieties upon the subject of Japanese bathing had implied. Of course, I laughed. Why should I not laugh? But, as the young woman was not conscious of the causes of my mirth, she became irritated:—

"She launched an ice-bolt from her scornful eye
And vanished swift and stately from the scene."

But not for very long. There was evidently another village close at hand, and, in less than five minutes, she reappeared, clad, this time, in superabundant attire,—I suppose by way of self applied toilet compensation (?) to her accidentally wounded feelings. She adressed me in what was undoubtedly very fluent Chinese, and I replied in the best English at my command. She examined my coat and waistcoat, which lay on the raised

part of the "catamaran," and, finding a quantity of loose coin in one pocket, expressed a desire to posses herself of a specimen. She was judicious enough to select a small one, and I let her know that she could take it. Then she retired, leaving behind her a profusion of thanks flavored with betel-nut juice.

This incident proved the preliminary to an extensive reception which I was compelled to hold upon the bank of the Sialiao river. Straightway issued from the copse a procession of women, various in age and quality, all clearly bent upon the accumulation of silver. They showed no reticence in manifesting their wishes, and I did not feel it necessary to take a particularly circuitous method of refusing to comply. While they argued the matter, a second body of "interviewers" came in sight. These were men, all bearing bows and arrows, swords and spears. At that moment it occurred to me that the heat was not so oppressive as it had been. I was at least sure that I should be more comfortable with the treasure laden waistcoat on my back than lying at my side. By the time I was ready to receive them, they were ranged closely around, some twenty in number, and chattering in chorus like agitated magpies. They were very good natured, and, one by one, offered their arms for inspection, asking to see mine as well; but I had none to show them. We had a highly amicable consultation for an hour, without the interchange of a single idea, at the end of which time I was summoned to the beach. Returning to the ship, to pass the last night on board, we found everything in a state of lively and not too orderly preparation for the general disembarkation of the next day. Until long after midnight, the decks of the "Yuko Maru" were more active than they had been at any time since the departure from Nagasaki.

CHAPTER VIII.

LANDING OF TROOPS AND STORES—DEFICIENCIES OF MILITARY SYSTEM—INCIDENTS OF DEBARKATION—DISPOSITION OF THE INHABITANTS—FIRST PLANS FOR AN ENCAMPMENT—NATIVE LABORERS EMPLOYED.

THE landing of the small body of marines and a portion of the stores brought by the "Yuko Maru" commenced at a tolerably early hour on the morning of the 8th. This work was not accomplished with anything approaching to order or regularity, for these qualities, although strikingly manifest among the Japanese in all that relates to the management of affairs according to their own traditional usages, are often lost sight of when they undertake the employment of foreign methods. I can imagine a Japanese army of the old school, before Western military science was introduced, to have been a model of promptness and cleanliness. At present, however, the troops are deficient in many conditions which we consider essential to success and distinction in arms. The events of the civil war of 1868 certainly proved that they possess almost an excess of the most important of soldierly attributes—namely, personal courage; but the manner in which even this was displayed was frequently more dashing and desperate than positively effective. Of late years they have shown an excellent willingness to submit to the requirements of regular discipline, but they have never been able to accustom themselves to the lower details of military routine. I suppose that the old idea still prevails to a considerable extent —that the soldier belongs to a superior class, and is not properly liable to menial offices or the particularly fatiguing labors of the field. It is almost humorously at variance with our notions of the economies of war to see a

body of a hundred soldiers accompanied by nearly an equal number of "coolies" to do the work of building shelter, cooking and a good part of the digging of trenches. But so it was here. The adoption of foreign military systems does not appear to have gone much beyond the actual use of weapon and the manœuvering of the various branches of the service. The management of the commisariat is still in the native style, and transportation is conducted upon what I take to have been the principles of the time of Taiko Sama, who undertook the invasion of Corea in the sixteenth century. In their way they are not ineffective, and in the matter of supplies, at least, there was always an abundance in Formosa, and at some times an almost wasteful profusion. The methods of conveyance were generally prompt, though somewhat rude and needlessly expensive in their execution. There can be no doubt that the quarter-master's department was distinguished by a great deal of vigor and by excellent good sense; but its administration was not exactly in harmony with the new ideas which have been to a great extent adopted in the management of the troops themselves. What the Japanese might or might not do if they attempted to carry through their operations entirely upon the ancient basis, it is impossible to say: but the partial infusion of the new customs, while it undoubtedly adds to their destructive capacities, contributes, thus far, very little to the convenience or healthfulness of their armies. These results still rest in the future.

A more irregular disembarkation than that from the "Yuko Maru" was perhaps never witnessed. I look upon the selection of this spot upon the western coast for the base of the movement as another example of the caution and prudence with which the details of the expedition were prearranged at Tokio. Here, the inhabitants were known to be, not precisely friendly to strangers, but at least not positively hostile. They were not likely to oppose a landing in any violent way, whereas the people of the eastern side would probably have begun their part of the fighting at the water's edge. The result of such an encounter, even when conducted with the

advantage of tactical skill on the side of the invaders, was fatal in the case of the "Hartford" expedition. It would almost certainly have been so in this instance. I do not doubt that the Japanese would have striven manfully, and it is quite possible that they might have continued the struggle until the last man could no longer lift a hand, for that was the way they fought in 1868, as plenty of witnesses can testify; but the odds would have been against them, and a repulse at the outset would have seriously disturbed the calculations of those who projected the enterprise. By landing in the Liangkiao valley several points were gained. It is a score of miles beyond Pongli, the most southern place at which the Chinese make any attempt to exercise real authority, so no conflict with the Chinese officials could reasonably be apprehended; the chances were all in favor of an easy and undisturbed transfer of men and provisions from the ships, and ample time would be afforded for the accumulation of a force the strength of which, being reported to the hostile tribes, might so impress them as to render unnecessary the resort to extremities. On the occasion of the Chinese march against the Koaluts, in 1867, the knowledge that a really powerful body was moving against them first caused the aborigines to make advances which averted the necessity for conflict.

I do not like to think what the consequences might have been if the Japanese had been met upon the beach, or in the jungles near the beach, by a determined and active enemy. The ultimate disposition would not have been changed, but many unpleasant and discouraging episodes would almost certainly have intervened. The whole business of landing was carried through in the most confused and *laissez faire* manner imaginable. (?) All the "sampans" purchased in Amoy—except one which came to fracture somehow—and a number of light craft hired from the natives were engaged in the work. I do not care to mention too particularly the awkward incidents of the disembarking process, but a single example will be sufficient. The Gatling guns, which were properly to have been relied upon to cover

the landing, in case of need, were put in a boat with a party not one of whom knew anything of the use of these formidable weapons. As it turned out, this was a matter of no moment, but there had been nothing, up to that time, to justify such assurance, or such carelessness, whichever it might have been. The slight association with the villagers which the officers had held, the day before, did not altogether promise a relationship of entire friendliness. I was informed of one or two circumstances, outside of my own observation, that did not seem like favorable omens. While I entertained, or was entertained by, a select and amicable circle on the banks of the river of Sialiao, the exploring party had passed through several hamlets the denizens of which regarded them with very unwelcoming eyes—so much so that the interpreter Johnson, who professed to be skilled in translating the expression of the Formosan physiognomy as well as its tongues, declared that he would not be answerable for the safety of the visitors if they did not keep themselves well banded together. Not to dwell too long upon this particular subject, I may say that my own speculations had led me to the very strong conviction that, in this part of the island, a stranger travelling and mixing among the natives with obviously no hostile design, would suffer no molestation; for the tribes, though half uncivilized and jealous in temper, have no traditional wrongs to avenge, and are far from barbarous in their disposition or habits. But in the event of suspicions of injurious intention being aroused, the case would be wholly altered. It was fairly apparent that if these people should get it fixed in their minds that the expedition had come with aggressive purposes respecting themselves, they would be difficult to deal with, for they would be under no restraint but that of fear. I believe that the strictest orders were given to avoid allowing them any fair ground for suspicion, but the difficulty of fulfilling such instructions was only too obvious. Under the best circumstances, the situation could not be agreeable for the new comers. If they should be especially forbearing, their lenience would not be appreciated. If arrogant or severe

—which, however, was hardly to be apprehended—the islanders would assuredly retaliate in their own wild way. The establishment of any trustworthy relations between the Japanese and the Formosans of this neighborhood was out of the question, for a long time to come; and it required little foresight to predict that, until evidence of overwhelming strength should have been given, either by some vigorous demonstration or by the quiet planting of an irresistible force here, there would be no safety for the lives of Japanese at any distance from their own encampments.

The soldiers, cooks, laborers, etc. were all on shore a short time after noon. Up to sunset, comparatively little of the baggage had appeared, and it seemed probable that the discharge of the entire cargo would be a work of many days. The camp was fixed in a little plain lying between the two rivers of which I have spoken—a miniature Mesopotamia. Its inland extremity, according to the plan first adopted, was to be defended by an elaborate entrenchment. The sides, which were partially protected by the streams, were to be strengthened by other earthworks, reaching to the sea. The entire space marked out for enclosure was a little over forty acres. It included a considerable stretch of sandy beach, and a poorly cultivated field of sweet potatos, which latter seemed to be the sole agricultural achievement of a wretched little subsidiary village consisting of a dozen mud hovels, which also lay within the camp ground. This cluster of dwellings was just off the line of the beach, and was almost hidden by a thick growth of stunted screw-pines. It should be understood that the piece of land in question was not forcibly taken possession of, but was occupied under a verbal agreement with the owner, who had consented, the day before, to surrender it temporarily for a reasonable consideration. This phrase was too elastic, and, there was reason to apprehend, might lead to inconvenience, as we had already witnessed one or two examples of the suddenly aroused rapacity of these natives.

Ten tents—all that could be brought by the "Yuko Maru,"—were

pitched a little after noon, and a line of sentinels was established, so that the place began to assume an aspect faintly suggesting early Potomac days. The marines came out in white linen suits, for the first time since leaving Sinagawa, and went to this part of their work with alacrity. Trench-digging they took to less kindly, and as they were really too few in number to accomplish much in this way, it was determined to engage as many natives as could be secured, at the rate of thirty cents a day. This may not seem an extraordinary scale of wages, to readers at a distance, but it was sumptuous and wholly unprecedented in Liangkiao. About one hundred were set to work in the afternoon, and to all the "head men" who came in from the surrounding districts with assurances of good will—and there were numerous deputations of this sort—notice was given that they might send as many of their people as they chose to, on the same terms. Their efforts to conceal their amazement at the liberality of the wages offered were heroic, but completely ineffectual.

CHAPTER IX.

BEHAVIOR OF THE POPULACE—THEIR UNCONTROLLABLE CURIOSITY—PERSISTENT INGENUITY BAFFLED—DISCOMFORT FROM HEAT—AN ILLUMINATION.

NEXT morning, the general demeanor of the populace, at the first stage of proceedings, indicated a genial conviction that the whole affair was a sort of pageant prepared and sent thither for their entertainment. At the outset they viewed it objectively, and as interested spectators, but gradually it occurred to them that it might not be altogether amiss to stroll in and take a hand. So they walked up to the sentries and suggested, in pantomime, that they should like to handle the rifles a little while. When this privilege was denied them, they appeared to interpret the refusal as casting a doubt upon their honesty, and proposed to offer their matchlocks, spears, and bows and arrows in exchange. Nothing, they argued in expressive gesticulation, could be fairer than this. But as the guards still declined, they became highly indignant, and remained so until they caught sight of the Gatling guns, conspicuously planted in front of the tents, when their ire gave way to the liveliest curiosity. I believe that sudden transitions from one extreme of temper to the other are characteristic of all uncultivated races, but I never before saw such frequent exhibitions of the trait. It is impossible to say whether it was the complicated mechanism or only the bright polish of the Gatlings that attracted them, but they were clearly of opinion that a few minutes might be pleasantly passed in inspecting the strange objects. They started off in this new direction, and of course were stopped again by another set of sentinels. This was a monstrous and intolerable interference with their rights. They had

been angry before, but now they were thoroughly infuriated. Why should they not go wherever they wished to, in the Liangkiao valley? In all ages, nobody had ever questioned their privilege before. On the whole, they thought they would go, in spite of resistance. I must say that the self-restraint of the Japanese soldiers, under these embarrassing circumstances, was most praiseworthy. They did not yield—that was out of the question—but they contrived to keep the mob back, without the slightest display of violence, and without allowing themselves to be disturbed for an instant from their good humor by the shrieking abuse bestowed upon them. They treated their assailants as they would have treated the same number of froward children at home, and the result was, that the natives, finding they could make no impression upon them, withdrew from the lines and held frantic indignation meetings at short distances. One energetic fellow, with a closely-shaved head, was apparently possessed of a practical idea, which he communicated with immense energy to all who would listen to him. He presently won over a number of followers, whom he led away in haste to the neighboring village. In a few minutes they all returned, most of them bringing hoes and rakes, and one or two bearing large baskets. The leader came forward and announced, through an interpreter, that the owner of the sweet potato field that formed part of the camp stood by his side; that this landed proprietor had agreed to give up the use of his ground, but had not by any means surrendered his title to the potatos, and that he insisted on being allowed to come in and gather his produce and carry it away to his own house. To this the Japanese officers replied that he, individually, might certainly enter and collect the vegetables, but that they saw no reason for admitting the entire population of Southern Formosa. The bald-headed strategist was ready with the answer that such was the invariable custom of the place; when a farmer took in his crop, all the neighbors came forward to help him, and to attempt to break down a time-honored usage like this would be a flagrant affront to the community.

The Japanese laughed and told them to do as they wished, at the same time sending an extra guard to watch over the Gatling guns. Then the whole native party advanced in a state of exultation, and dug strenuously for two minutes, after which they paused to rest, and cast longing eyes upon the unapproachable armament. One would have thought, a little later, that the choicest potatos of the island grew in the very spot where the guns had deen stationed, for they were invested, as closely as possible, by a circle of delving Sialiaoans. When the pressure became too great, the whole question was finished by an order to wheel the instruments of destruction to another place, where no pretence of potatos could be alleged. Thereupon popular disgust—the shaven strategist throwing down his tools and withdrawing; in an inflamed condition of mind; followed by the multitude, all of them alike forgetful of the "time-honored custom" which required an entire village to participate in the harvesting of each field in its vicinity.

In spite of the momentary excitements of landing and the introduction to a new scene, it did not appear that the Japanese were greatly elated over the immediate prospect before them. They found themselves surrounded by few of the comforts they had been accustomed to, and many more than the usual inconveniences of a soldier's career. They already discovered that their chief difficulty would be the heat, which threatened to cause much suffering. It was not only excessive in degree, but was of that intolerable and enfeebling quality which most rapidly breeds disease. The wind, at this time of year, in Formosa, brings little relief during the day, and there is no real vigor even in the sea breezes. The temperature is of a withering and prostrating intensity such as I have encountered in no other place excepting, possibly, the Red Sea. Fortunately the nights are less oppressive. The Japanese are accustomed to considerable heats in their own country, especially the men of Satsuma and other Southern provinces, from which most of the soldiers were to come; but it was plain that they could not escape severe distress here. The tents thus far provided

for them were marvellously contrived to aggravate the rigors of the climate. They were of the oldest and most obsolete conical form, close and ill-ventilated, and made of a quality of canvas so poor that it actually seemed to invite the sun's rays, instead of excluding them. One had only to look at their texture to read the familiar story of five hundred per cent profit in the bank account of the contractor—foreign, presumably—who supplied them to the Japanese government.

At nine o'clock on the evening of this second day, all attention was attracted to the light of an enormous fire, burning, apparently, at a distance of five or six miles to the south east of Liangkiao. It blazed for an hour quite fiercely and then faded quickly away. Many fancied that it was a signal of warning among the savage tribes, and it was, indeed, discovered, at a later date, to have been their work, but the object was to clear the approaches to some of their strongholds which could not be made inaccessible by the usual devices of blockading, and, by getting rid of the trees and shrubbery, to expose an advancing party to an unobstructed fire from the sheltered hill tops.

CHAPTER X.

NATIVE LABORERS EMPLOYED—THEIR IMPRACTICABILITY—VISIT OF A BRITISH GUNBOAT—AN ENTERPRISING CONSUL—INSATIABLE GREED OF THE POPULACE—A THREATENED APPEAL TO ARMS—ARRIVAL OF ARMY AND NAVY OFFICERS—JAPANESE HOUSE-BUILDING IN FORMOSA.

About four hundred natives came in, on the morning of the 9th, from all parts of the valley, and announced themselves ready to be employed upon the fortifications. It was the most incongruous assemblage imaginable, and not more than half the number were capable of doing effective work; but the Japanese officers appeared disinclined to make any discrimination, and they were all turned into the trenches and told to do the best they could. About one third of them were women, some with infants strapped to their backs. At least a quarter of the remainder were too old and infirm for any kind of toil, and I actually saw one blind man, with a useless pickaxe in his hands, led about by a child, and encumbering the progress of affairs wherever he attempted to take part in them. For about two hours these our allies kept to their task with tolerable steadiness, and then withdrew for food and repose. At two in the afternoon they reappeared and sent in a message to the effect that thirty cents a day were not sufficient wages, in their estimation. After this, very little more work was done, and at five o'clock a general outcry for payment arose. Then followed a scene of indescribable confusion;—wild and grotesque clamor on the part of the natives and vain efforts at explanation and conciliation on the part of the Japanese. The fact that they had agreed for thirty cents did not at all interfere with their determination to get more, if possible, although they

had not done a fair half day's labor. For nearly an hour the tumult was incessant. The pestilent bald-headed agitator of the previous day was prominent in the uproar, and was not only violent himself but was the cause of violence in everybody near him. It was evident that nothing could ever be hoped for in the way of practical assistance from these people. And it was by no means an agreeable sight to look at their faces distorted and flushed with passion, while they kept up their chorus of shrill and, to us, incoherent cries. The whole thing was so unreasonably extravagant that we could not help laughing, but I doubt if any of us would have found the effect so entirely ludicrous if we had happened to be in their power at the moment. They were too numerous to be held in complete restraint, and many of them broke through the lines and followed the disbursing officers about with savage shouts and gestures. I was surprised at the complete calmness of the Japanese in dealing with them; the indifference they showed to the frequent menaces, and their obvious determination not to be roused to irritation by any displays of violence. It was not until after sunset that the disturbance subsided. Those that had worked, or pretended to work, received the stipulated payment, and they all at last retired with the air of virtuous beings who had suffered the bitterest wrongs that predetermined tyranny could inflict upon them.

A British gunboat, the "Hornet," which we had seen at Amoy, and which had left that port just in advance of us, steamed into the bay during the day and a party of officers came on shore to take observations. Accompanying them was a gentleman justly renowned as one of the most enterprising enquirers in the East. This was Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for Formosa, of whom it shall be recorded that he will not be likely to lack information upon any earthly subject by reason of diffidence in asking questions about it. It was a singular circumstance that he desired to gather intelligence solely for the purpose of imparting it to the Chinese authorities at Taiwan Fu or Takao. The Taotai would naturally apply to

him, on his return, and he should be glad to give him the most favorable report that he could obtain. Of course he would be closely interrogated, and it would be for the interest of the Japanese to enable him to supply the fullest explanation of their past action and future projects. No thought of a possible inclination on the part of British authorities to become acquainted with the condition of affairs, appeared to enter his mind. Unfortunately the subjects in regard to which he seemed most anxious were almost as obscure to those whom he addressed as to himself. There was really very little information to give, of the kind that he wanted. I am afraid that he imagined a reticent resolution which in fact did not exist, and if he did so, it would have been cruelly unjust, especially as no sign of doubt was cast upon the sincerity of his assurances that he was investigating with the simple view of putting the Japanese in the best light before the Chinese magnates of Taiwan. He remained all day on land, and had every opportunity for free observation of the little that was to be seen in the Japanese camp.

Reports had been brought to head quarters, in the morning, to the effect that armed bodies of mountaineers, generally few in number, were hovering about the plain in every direction. Stragglers from the southern tribes had come close to the lines, and made no concealment of their hostile sentiments. One of these treated Lieut. Commander Cassel to an eloquent harangue,—in clearest and most distinct pantomime. That gentleman was watching the progress of the intrenchments when an excited visitor came up to him, and, in signs which to him appeared unmistakeable, expressed his conviction that, while digging might be a suitable occupation for strangers here, in the valley, throat-cutting was the popular pastime of the natives, among the mountains, as he would find when he should travel in that direction. It was already plain that there was no general good feeling to be counted upon in any part of this country. Even the inhabitants of the valley, at the least little distance from the camp, glared

threateningly whenever they passed us by. Their suspicions were thoroughly aroused—a fact which I, for one, could not look upon as at all remarkable. There was no particular reason why, from their point of view, they should not be distrustful. All the efforts of the Japanese to put them at ease were, at the outset, unsuccessful. They could not, in the nature of things, be otherwise.

On the morning of the 10th, the reluctant and turbulent laborers of the surrounding villages sent in a committee to announce that they had resolved not to work for less than fifty cents a day. Johnson, the interpreter, explained that the whole community was in a raging fever to get rich without delay, and that the prodigality of many of the subordinate officers, in their various transactions, had given rise to the most extravagant and insatiable expectations. We soon had several evidences of this disagreeable truth. The owner of the potato field upon which we were encamped had agreed, as I have mentioned, to allow his ground to be used for a reasonable compensation. He now sent word that his idea of a reasonable compensation was four thousand dollars—a sum the like of which had probably never been heard of in all Southern Formosa since the days of its first settlement. The occupants of some of the mud huts in the village close at hand had declared their willingness to rent them, at fair rates, for storehouses. They now gave information that six hundred dollars was the figure they had fixed upon. There was some delay in the transmission of their message, which came near leading to an unpleasant conflict. The Japanese coolies had been told that the cottages would be ready for them at sunrise, and accordingly proceeded to them at that time, laden with luggage from the beach. Whereupon the villagers sprang upon them with brandished swords, drove them out of their single street, barricaded the entrances and announced themselves ready for a fight. On going to the spot, the officers found some of them with guns in hand, excessively defiant, and bursting with genuine or mock heroics. They were quite prepared, then and there,

to strike for their altars and their fires, and, if they must be killed, to die at once, without further waiting. Were they so prepared? Opinions are divided on this point. For my part, I think the gentlemen did protest too much. Persons who are truly anxious to die seldom talk to excess about it. The contumacious hut-holders were, however, quieted, if not satisfied, by an assurance that their estates should not be molested, and that the bargain of the night before should be considered as not having been completed, and therefore void. I say "if not satisfied," because I do not believe that relief from intrusion was what they actually wanted. They wanted money, as much as they could get, but ~~on this special occasion they killed their golden goose, and got nothing at all.~~ I must not omit to mention that my bald-pated demagogue, in whose movements I began, about this time, to take great interest, was characteristically prominent during this little affray, and did all in his individual power to swell it to riotous dimensions.

The field laborers were notified that their services would not be needed at the rate demanded by them, whereat they, too, raged furiously and bore themselves as if fresh injuries had been heaped upon them. I suppose that by this time the patience of the Japanese was exhausted, for they made no further attempts toward an understanding. The work on the fortifications ceased entirely, the number of soldiers being only sufficient for a competent camp-guard, and the coolies being all occupied in the transfer of stores and similar tasks.

The "Hornet" sailed away northward at daylight on the 10th. A little later the Japanese frigate "Nishin" came into the harbor, with Admiral Akamatsu, the senior naval officer of the expedition, and General Tani, the next in army rank after Saigo. These gentlemen brought word that Generals Saigo and Le Gendre were still detained in Japan by the various obstructions which have already been described, and that the Pacific Mail Steamship "New York" had been positively withdrawn by the agent of

the company. A large transport entered the bay about noon, with two hundred soldiers, a fresh force of laborers and abundant supplies. Among the first materials landed from her were quantities of timber and boards with which the carpenters immediately set to work constructing houses. In the course of the afternoon they finished a number of rough but serviceable buildings, without driving a nail—everything being tied together with ropes of straw, and thus capable of being dissected at will, and used again in another form, if necessary. Until long after midnight they continued rearing "shanties" (a hut or a mean dwelling) with undiminished industry, singing cheerily all the while, as is the custom of Japanese craftsmen.

The nights, at this period were cool, but the heat of the days was excessive, and already many cases of prostration and illness, from this cause, were reported.

CHAPTER XI.

NEW CAMP SELECTED—FRESH DIFFICULTIES WITH THE NATIVES—RASH EXCURSION OF UNAUTHORIZED VOLUNTEERS—AN INTERVIEW WITH SAVAGE CHIEFS—THE LEADER OF SOUTHERN FORMOSA—FRIENDLY RELATIONS ESTABLISHED—CONFIDENCE IN GENERAL LE GENDRE—ANOTHER FEAST.

ADMIRAL Akamatsu and General Tani were now the officers of highest rank in the expedition, and from this time, until the subsequent arrival of General Saigo, the direction of affairs was in their hands. On the 11th of May, a new camping ground was selected, at a spot some two miles south of the field first chosen, in consequence of the discovery that the place occupied was liable to be overflowed during the heaviest of the summer rains. The new site was fixed upon a hill-side which rises from a small inlet just below the point forming the southern boundary of Liangkiao Bay. A party was sent in the afternoon to prepare the ground and dig wells, but was met by a body of about sixty natives, who refused to allow them to go on with their work. The excuse they gave for the interference was that they believed certain graves in the locality would be injured. According to usage here established, the Japanese soldiers gave way, and waited for further orders. The "head men" of that particular region were sent for and were assured a second time—the whole business having been thoroughly discussed and, it was supposed, settled, in the morning—that there would no desecration of burial places, and that, on the contray, each grave was to be surrounded by a bamboo fence. They were furthermore admonished—now for the first time, I believe—that these repeated marks of ill-will might perhaps tire out the endurance of the officers who were earnestly

and sincerely endeavoring to treat them with kindness and consideration. They then promised that there should be no further obstruction, and, for a considerable time, the pledge was adhered to.

On the morning of the 12th, a party of eight or nine Japanese—interpreters and volunteer attachés of the expedition—started off upon a private and unauthorized tour of exploration. They went some miles along the coast, to the south, and pushed inland a little way among the mountains. They returned safely on the night of the 13th, having, of course, accomplished no good results, and having set a vicious example which presently led to mischief. There seemed to be no restraining the adventurous spirit of some of these irresponsible young Japanese. Instead of waiting for suitable opportunities to display their boldness, they would insist upon exhibiting it in various ways that could serve no desirable end and might have endangered graver interests than those of their personal safety. We were none the less glad, however, that in this instance they came to no grief through their fool-hardiness. *outrage without judgement.*

Partly in consequence of this unwarranted excursion, and partly for other and sufficient reasons, it was thought expedient to send a messenger, on the 13th, to the head-quarters of those chiefs of the eighteen tribes who were supposed to hold the greater part of the power and influence formerly wielded by Tokitok, and to invite them to an interview for the purpose of declaring to them the pacific designs of the Japanese, so far as they were concerned, and securing, if possible, their co-operation and good will. This messenger, who was no other than our ally Miya, performed his errand promptly and well, and returned, on the following day, with the intelligence that none of the chiefs was disposed to come into the Japanese camp, or even to descend any great distance into the Liangkiso valley, but that four of them would advance as far as a certain village on the edge of the mountains, about three miles from the sea-coast. The principal of these chiefs would be Isa, himself the head of a tribe, and

to use with a full power.

supposed by some to be invested with particular authority as a sort of guardian over Tokitok's son and successor, who would also be of the party. It was stipulated that the strangers should present themselves unaccompanied by an escort, and it was certainly understood, though perhaps not expressly agreed, that the chiefs would bring no armed retinue with them.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 15th, seven officers, with interpreters and guides, started for the appointed place of meeting. The way was difficult and fatiguing. There were no conveyances suitable to the road over which it was necessary to pass, and the whole distance had to be traversed on foot. This part of the island is destitute of any kind of shelter from the sun, though abundant in low growths of thick pines. After the first two miles, the route was a gradual and steady ascent, to the foot of the hills bounding the valley at the southwest. The little village at which the chiefs were waiting was similar in general aspect to those of the coast; inferior in the quality of its houses to the group over which Miya's family presides, but superior to most of the others. The Chinese type of countenance was still distinguishable in many of the inhabitants, though their bearing was even bolder and more audacious than that of the shore residents. It was an odd coincidence that among the crowd that came out to witness the arrival of the visitors, the most conspicuous person was recognized by Mr. Cassel as the man who had adressed him a few days before, near Sialiao, with mimic representations of the decapitation that awaited the strangers as soon as they should leave the encampment. In the streets of the village there was no sign of preparation, and nothing was visible around to indicate the presence of the chiefs, but it was known that they were there, since the American officers had halted a quarter of a mile outside and, not much liking the surroundings of the place, had sent in a proposition that they should come forth and confer in the open space. This was refused, and there was nothing to be done but to push forward and meet them on their own terms.

The party was led to one of the best cottages, in the principal room of which a man was standing alone, who did not wait to be accosted, but immediately withdrew. This was afterward found to be the chief Isa. Up to the moment of his sudden exit, there had not been a single indication that the village was occupied by any besides the regular denizens; but as he stepped forth, a body of about forty wild looking men came into view as suddenly as if they had been called up by magic. It was impossible to imagine where or how they had been concealed. The fabled call of Roderich Dhu could not have been more startling in its effects than the silent summons of this savage warrior. His followers gathered compactly about the door of the house, and, although there was probably no intention of the sort, it seemed for a moment as if they wished to give substantial proof of their mastery of the situation and to show the strangers the helplessness of the position into which they had allowed themselves to be led.

This did not last long. Isa presently returned, accompanied by the younger son of Tokitok, a fine looking lad of about eighteen years of age, and by other chiefs. In the conversation that followed, he took the sole control, on the part of the natives, rarely consulting at all with his associates. His manner, as well as that of his companions, appeared to indicate that his was the most potent voice in the affairs of those Southern tribes that still remained in confederation. The personal appearance of this leader was striking. He is tall and muscular and considerably above the European average in stature and physical development. His complexion is dark, and the expression of his countenance is vigorous, resolute and intrepid. At times it assumed an air of extreme ferocity, and it was easy to see that if he were moved to sudden wrath his features would at once fall into that demoniac distortion with the power of assuming which everybody in the region seemed to be gifted. His eyes are remarkable and quite exceptional. They are almost colorless,—that is to say, there is hardly a distinction

between the dull bluish white of the corners and the pupils. This, however, was afterward discovered to be the effect of a peculiar malady from which they suffer, and, as a consequence, they were not often lighted up; but occasionally a gleam came into them as fierce and vicious as that of any wild beast. And this, so far as we could then judge, was when he was at his best—attending a friendly conference and exercising a species of rough hospitality. There were reasons, at a later date, for modifying this estimate of his character. In dress he was like the average Chinaman of this district, excepting that his garments were of somewhat better quality, and were slightly embroidered. His arms—matchlock, spear, bow and arrows and sword—were in good condition and polished to the highest degree. His general demeanor was very serious, and by an uninitiated observer would not have been regarded as particularly pacific. He sat almost all the while in a rigid position, hardly moving his head to one side or the other, which immobility, again, though not then clearly comprehended, was undoubtedly due to his impaired eyesight. When he spoke, he delivered his sentences with great rapidity, and in a harsh guttural tone which had apparently as little of the music of amity in it as the growling of a tiger. But his words were not discourteous and all his intention seemed to be to show a willingness to hold pleasant relations with the new-comers. Like all the inhabitants of Southern Formosa he chewed betel-nuts constantly, with the juice of which his teeth and lips were darkly stained. He was also marked with a disfiguring species of ornamentation which is peculiar to the tribes of the Eastern coast; the lobes of his ears were abnormally distended by the insertion, in large bored holes, of heavy plates of silver. None of his companions was without these fantastic decorations, although some wore shells or pieces of crystal, instead of metallic substances.

The interview was not very long, and although the colloquy was necessarily slow, requiring a triple translation each way—from Japanese into English, thence into Chinese and again into the savage dialect, with the same

process reversed in replies—there was little occasion for extensive discussion. The mere forms of meeting and recognition, and the interchange of a few reassuring words were about all that was really required. Isa manifested some curiosity as to the ultimate purposes of the Japanese, and was told that he would undoubtedly receive full information as soon as Generals Saigo and Le Gendre should arrive, but that the designs of the expedition were not likely to affect him or his subjects, or any well disposed tribes. The name of General Le Gendre appeared to possess a singular charm over these people. Attention was called to the fact that the Japanese party had put faith in the integrity of the natives by coming among them unattended by a guard, and the hope expressed that the chiefs would return the confidence by visiting the encampment, with or without followers, as they might choose. To this Isa demurred, hesitate whereupon it was furthermore suggested that any of the foreigners would willingly go to the interior and remain there as a hostage during the term of such a visit. Still the mountain leader would not respond, but when he was asked if he would come after General Le Gendre's arrival, he readily answered in the affirmative. Alluding to the circumstance that the Japanese had travelled in a strange region without an escort, he offered to send a detachment of his own men back to the camp with them, but this, naturally, was declined. After about an hour of conversation, it was announced that a pig had been killed, and a feast was ready. The anxiety of preparation for this inevitable solemnity, I ought to have mentioned, was the reason given, earlier in the day, for not coming out to meet the visitors at a distance from the village. The pig, with its accessaries, was disposed of, tea and sam-shu were drank, and the assemblage broke up, a little after three o'clock, with formal expressions of courteous satisfaction on all sides. Just before leaving, the American gentlemen exhibited the capacities of the Winchester and other rifles which they carried, to the interest and astonishment of the natives, whose fire-arms are yet of the most primitive class; and at the suggestion of the Japanese

officers, the present of a Snider was made to each of the chiefs. These were accepted with assurances that they should be treasured as memorials, but also with modest doubts as to the ability of the recipients to make effective use of weapons so far superior to those of their customary experience. The excursionists returned to their camp at six o'clock in the evening.

A third transport, accompanied by a gun-boat, came into harbor on the 16th, bringing additional troops and stores. On the same day Major Fukusima, who, in addition to his military duties, was entrusted with the functions of Consul at Amoy, set out to return to his post of civil service, for the completion of business that had been especially confided to him and which will be briefly explained hereafter.

CHAPTER XII.

A RASH ADVANCE AND ITS RESULT—THE PENALTY OF STRAGGLING—DECAPITATION OF A SATSUMA SOLDIER—ASSAULT ON A BOAT'S CREW OF A JAPANESE FRIGATE—VIOLENT RAIN STORM AND CONSEQUENT DELAYS.

IT was not long before the Japanese soldiers received a shock to their sense of fancied security. In spite of repeated admonitions, numbers of them persisted in wandering about through regions too remote from the camp to allow them to reach it, or enable them to receive assistance, in case of danger. On the afternoon of the 17th, a body of one hundred men was sent out to a distance of two miles eastward, for some reconnoitring purpose not clearly defined. They ran no particular risk, so long as they remained together and kept clear of the jungle; but half a dozen of them were seized with the desire to visit a little village, the roofs of which were seen over the shrubbery, less than a quarter of a mile further on. They went there unmolested, and remained awhile. On their way back, they were fired upon, from a thicket, by invisible assailants. One man was wounded in the neck, and another, a sergeant of a Satsuma regiment, was shot dead. Having no means of knowing the number or the exact situation of the attacking force, they ran back to the reconnoitring party, all of whom advanced without delay to the spot. They found that the head of the murdered man had been cut off, his body stripped, and his weapons taken away. Of course no trace of the enemy could be discovered. The result of all inquiries upon the subject showed to a certainty that the work was done by members of the very Botan tribe which slaughtered the Miyako Sima fishermen

in 1871, and which the Japanese were now in Formosa for the sole purpose of calling to account. The Botans were known to have posts of observation on the hill-tops, and it was a simple matter for them to watch the movements of stragglers, and intercept them by side paths with which all the aborigines were of course perfectly familiar. It was hoped that this first mishap would at least be an effective warning to the reckless excursionists connected, more or less officially, with the expedition; but it did not prove so. Some of them were insensible to restraint, and showed themselves incapable of profiting by any lessons, however severe.

Before taking steps of retaliation, it was decided to await the return of Admiral Akamatsu, who had started in the "Nishin" the day before on a short voyage to the eastern coast. He came on the 19th, and reported that the frigate's boats had been fired upon by savage warriors who were believed to belong to the Koalut country. This conjecture was afterward found to be an error. The Admiral was highly incensed, as an Admiral that has been thus affronted ought properly to be, and there was some talk of inflicting punishment on a large scale, by a combined naval and military force. But the matter more immediately in hand required to be first considered and adjusted, and the penalty for the assault upon the "Nishin's" sailors was postponed until action in regard to it was at last found to be unnecessary.

Several days passed before the first steps toward investigation could be taken. The delay was caused by a violent storm which set in on the 18th and lasted without interruption during the half of a week. Torrents of rain fell incessantly, and for three days and nights the entire camp was converted into a small lake, and a lake of no trifling depth, let it be understood. Each tent was as completely water-bound as the island Pyramid of Egypt. As the Japanese soldiers used no tables, many of their articles of clothing, and other valuables, were washed away and never seen again. Intercourse of every kind, excepting such as was imperatively

required, was suspended. During forty-eight hours no food could be cooked. The lines of sentinels, at night, could not be maintained, and the camp was guarded only by isolated pickets, stationed upon pieces of ground that were not too deeply submerged. Finally, it was found necessary to shift quarters, as hastily as possible, to a sand ridge, bordering the beach. Here the situation was in some degree improved, but perils by flood were still the terror of the day and the dream of each night.

In the midst of this tempest, the little British "Hornet" returned, with the intention, it was understood, of remaining a considerable time in the neighborhood. As the British Consul for Formosa had been landed at Taiwan Fu, some fifty miles distant, it seemed probable that this second visit might not be exclusively for the purpose of assisting the plans of the Japanese by gathering intelligence that should represent their enterprise in the most favorable aspect to the Chinese of the northern part of the island. Great Britain, it was to be presumed, might have an interest in the observations to be made on this occasion.

CHAPTER XIII.

ASSAULT ON A RECONNOITRING PARTY—ANOTHER IMPRUDENT EXCURSION—ATTACK IN FORCE BY THE JAPANESE—FUTILE PURSUIT OF THE SAVAGES—A SUSPECTED VILLAGE—ESTABLISHMENT OF OUTPOSTS—THE FIRST REGULAR ENGAGEMENT—SIX JAPANESE AND SIXTEEN ABORIGINES SLAIN.

On the 21st of May, a detachment of twelve men was sent out to examine the locality where the Satsuma soldier had been killed four days before. Their instructions were to visit the village at which they had previously halted, to inquire into the circumstances, and to ascertain beyond a doubt to which tribe the unknown enemies belonged. It was recognized that the murdered man had been roaming in places where he should not have been, and that the assailants were perhaps not bound to know that his errand was innocent; but, on the other hand, apart from the fact that the Japanese were in no case disposed to look upon his death with indifference, he had gone nowhere near the established limits of the Liangkiao district, and the actual intrusion, as well as aggression, had been on the side of the savages.

It was understood that this scouting party was not to expose itself to danger, and was to confine itself to gathering such information as could be obtained without serious risk; but the restless spirit of the men was, as usual, entirely beyond reasonable control. They found the place, to which they had been sent, entirely deserted, and thought proper to push forward to the next settlement, a couple of miles beyond. When they were about four miles from the camp they were suddenly confronted by a body of not less than fifty natives, who fired upon them, severely wounding two of

their number. They returned the fire, and killed one of the enemy, whose corpse was afterward found by the coast villagers, half concealed in the jungle, after which they retreated hastily to the shore. The alarm being given, the entire Japanese force not on guard duty, about two hundred and fifty altogether, turned out and marched rapidly to the scene of the encounter. They reached it about half-past five o'clock in the afternoon and were greeted by an irregular volley from the bushes, which they could only return at random. They advanced, however, at a double-quick, the troops in the rear showing the greatest impatience, and making every endeavor, even at the expense of order, to press forward to the front. But their alacrity was not equal to the speed of the natives, who, from their familiarity with the country, were enabled to retreat without injury, sending a few scattered and ineffectual discharges behind them. As it was growing dark, the Japanese abandoned the pursuit for the night, and divided their force; one half bivouacking near the foot of the mountains, to receive the enemy in case they should attempt to renew the contest, and the other returning to the camp.

At the last village in the valley, several suspicious circumstances were observed. The inhabitants were in a state of unusual trepidation, and their matchlocks were not only seen lying about in disorder, but, on the examination, were found to be black and begrimed, as if they had been recently used; whereas it is the habit of these people to keep their arms in the cleanest possible condition. Hearing this, the Japanese officers determined to send out a force especially to disarm these villagers, and to post notices warning them that if they assisted or sheltered the Botans, who were by this time known to to be the active antagonists, they would be treated as enemies. Thus far, every incident of a hostile character had occurred in a region over which the savages exercised no legitimate control, and which lay entirely within the possession of the inhabitants of the Liangkiao valley, with all of whom the Japanese had established friendly,

or at least perfectly pacific, relations. The provocation had been wholly on the part of the mountaineers. There had been no intention even to approach them, for a considerable time to come, and it was clearly laid down that relations were to be established with them by peaceable means, if possible. The punishment for the outrages of 1871 was to be left to their own rulers, provided they would undertake the task, and was not to be enforced by the Japanese except in the event of an absolute refusal or defiance from the Botan chiefs. But now it seemed needful to prepare for meeting these repeated assaults in some effective way. It was determined not to withdraw the outposts—an action which might have been regarded as an indication of weakness—but to re-enforce them sufficiently to enable them to hold their ground, at the same time authorizing no forward movement that should render a contest inevitable. This condition of inactivity, however, it was easier to decree than to ensure.

On the morning of the 22d, two companies, led by Colonel Sakuma, who had already won distinction in the recent Saga contests,* went out to the support of those who had been left behind the night before, and to perform those duties, mentioned above, which concerned the suspected villagers and which did not necessarily involve a conflict on this occasion. But curiosity, or some stronger motive, induced them to push forward to the mountain path near which the savages had been lost sight of. Here, half way through a narrow and precipitous pass; the enemy again rose upon them, and the first genuine engagement ensued. The mountaineers were at first estimated to have been two hundred and fifty in number, but this was subsequently found to be a great exaggeration. They were about seventy. But they had enormous advantages of position, which I had afterward the opportunity of examining on all sides, and which I shall endeavor to describe more particularly in another chapter. Although one hundred and fifty Japanese had marched to the spot, the difficulties of the

* Saga, in Kiusiu, was the scene of the insurrection of the early part of 1874.

situation were such that not more than thirty could be actively employed. There was no road, and the fighting was actually done in the middle of a river which runs through the rocky gateway by which alone the Botan country could be approached from this direction. The savages were posted behind masses of stone which they had selected beforehand, and the Japanese assumed such stations as they could best find at the moment. The exchange of shots lasted a little over an hour, at the end of which time the natives all ran away—at least such as were able—leaving not one to be seen in any direction. They took their wounded with them, but sixteen dead bodies were left behind, the heads of most of which were cut off and brought back into camp. Six Japanese were killed, one of whom was an officer; and nearly a score were wounded, most of them very slightly.

War against the aborigines was now fairly in progress. These events had brought about a necessity for immediate action, and, although the only direct engagement that had taken place was of a comparatively trifling character, it was essential that it should be followed, as speedily as might be, by operations upon a broader scale. It was unquestionable that the imprudence of a few individuals, moving without responsibility, had tended to precipitate hostilities; but it was also evident, from the promptness of the natives to take advantage of these acts of carelessness or indiscretion, that they were determined upon a conflict, and that no amount of caution could have long averted one.

CHAPTER XIV.

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL SAIGO—FRESH STORES AND RE-ENFORCEMENTS—UNEXPECTED VISIT OF TWO CHINESE SHIPS OF WAR—A FRIENDLY MISSION—INTERVIEWS OF COURTESY—LETTER FROM THE VICEROY OF FU KIEN—FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT OF CHINESE CLAIM OF AUTHORITY—THE QUESTION OF FUTURE CONTROL DEFERRED—NATIONAL SALUTATIONS—CHINESE AWKWARDNESS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF HEAVY GUNS—FIRST INEFFECTUAL RESULTS OF FOREIGN INTERFERENCE—ITS SUBSEQUENT SUCCESS—CHINESE INERTIA CONTRASTED WITH JAPANESE ACTIVITY.

WHILE the skirmish of the 22d was going on, several large ships entered and anchored in Liangkiao Bay. The earliest to arrive was the "Takasagu Maru," which brought General Saigo, the Commander in Chief, with his staff, and fifteen hundred soldiers and laborers. She was followed by a second transport, the passengers in which increased the entire available force of fighting men to about thirteen hundred. Before the disembarkation commenced, two other vessels approached from a different direction, the nationality of which was at first doubtful, but which presently proved to be a Chinese frigate and gunboat. The arrival of these ships of war excited much curiosity, for, up to this time, we, in Formosa, had received no definite or trustworthy intelligence of the views of the Chinese government, since the commencement of the efforts of foreign Ministers to divert them from the true issue, and great uncertainty was felt as to the course of action they might adopt. It was a relief to find, on visiting these newcomers, that their visit was in no respect unfriendly, for not only were all anxieties as to Chinese interference thus allayed, but conclusive proofs were

afforded of the falseness of the grounds upon which the mischief-makers at Tokio and Peking had based their irritating proceedings. According to these messengers, the government of China had never yet objected in any degree to the Japanese movement, and one of the special errands of the ships was to communicate with the natives of the Liangkiao valley and to assure the chiefs personally, and the people by posted proclamations, that the Japanese were here to do a good work, that the Chinese authorities were in sympathy with them, and that it should be the duty of all the inhabitants to assist them in every way that lay in their power. Making due allowance for the high-flown extravagance of some of their declarations, it was abundantly clear that, up to this time, no hostile sentiments had been generally diffused among the Chinese officials; and indeed, evidence was afterward supplied that the Admiral in command at Amoy had reiterated the familiar assertions that his government was not responsible for and had no jurisdiction over the savage population, some days after the first party of Japanese had actually reached Formosa.

It was, however, apparent that the promptings of the foreign advisers had already produced the seeds of that opposition which afterward grew to such menacing proportions. That the Chinese did not themselves understand the nature of the steps they were about to take was evident from the discrepancy between the tone of their verbal assurances and the documents to which they now for the first time committed themselves. And, as the documents were ambiguous, while their personal declarations were clear and undisguised, the former were looked upon, for the moment, as being mere matters of precautionary record, and not calculated to bear directly upon the movements now in progress. Under any circumstances, the written communication brought by the messengers could not have affected the course of General Saigo's operations, inasmuch as they opened a question which, if it required discussion at all, could be settled only by diplomatic agencies, with which he was neither authorized nor inclined to interfere. What this

communication was, may be explained in a few words.

Fukusima Kunari, on first landing at Amoy, had delivered a letter from General Saigo to Li Wo Nen, the Viceroy of Fu Kien, notifying him of the departure of the expedition for Formosa, as the sequel of the conferences between Soyezima Taneomi and the members of the Tsung li Yamen, in the spring of 1873; conveying anew the desire of the Japanese government to maintain the most cordial relations with that of China, and asking that he, the Viceroy, would use his efforts to prevent both his own subjects and foreigners from giving aid to the savages by supplying them with arms and ammunition or other materials of war. As a matter of fact, there was no necessity for the transmission of any such letter; but the circumstance of its having been written and sent again exhibits the determination of the Japanese officials to act frankly and unreservedly in all the arrangements of their share in the business. The intentions of General Saigo were openly avowed. The entire absence of suspicion that the Chinese would now offer objections was demonstrated by the request that the authority of the highest official of Fu Kien should be used to prevent the aborigines from being strengthened by outside assistance. The methods employed on this occasion were as straightforward and sincere as were those of every other detail of the movement, from beginning to end.

To bring the Viceroy's answer to this despatch was another of the duties undertaken by the Chinese ships. At a later period, they chose to represent it as the principal if not the sole object of their visit, and to declare that their conversational avowals were mere complimentary fictions. But, at the time, they held a very different tone, and declared that the letter was to be taken only as a response to the direct subjects mentioned in General Saigo's first communication, while, on the broader and more general topics of interest between the two nations they were authorized to convey the true sentiments of friendship entertained by the Viceroy and his court. If it were true, as has since been alleged, that the Japanese Com-

mander in Chief was misled by their intentional duplicity, it would be no special discredit to him. As a soldier, he probably makes no pretence to skill in the detection of Chinese craft. But it does not appear to be true. At this period, the Chinese had only begun to be influenced in a direction adverse to the Japanese movement. The feeling, such as it was, was limited to a very few officials. The representatives of the United States were not yet aware of it, and many Chinese of the highest station still openly held to the theory that their government would assume no control over the aboriginal regions of Formosa.*

But the Viceroy's letter did affirm that China would claim authority over that part of the island, and expressed the wish that the Japanese general should withdraw his troops. These announcements were so unexpected and extraordinary that Saigo gave his first attention to the reception of the visitors, with the view of ascertaining more clearly, if possible, the meaning of the despatch which they brought. A meeting took place on the morning of the 23d, in a tent pitched, for the purpose, close to the beach. On the part of the Chinese little was said beyond the formal expression of the amicable feeling previously indicated on board their vessels. They were asked to explain the purport of the Viceroy's letter, which conflicted entirely with the position previously taken by all the Chinese authorities. They did not hesitate to interpret it as having reference to the future. The Viceroy's desire, according to them, was that the troops should withdraw after having accomplished the task assigned to them. In other words, the Viceroy was willing that the Japanese should undertake the work of punishing the savages and restoring order and security in the

* Mr. Williams, the U. S. Chargé at Peking, writing on the 29th of May, said that the authorities of the Chinese capital did not at that time consider the action of the Japanese, in visiting Formosa, to be warlike. Mr. Henderson, the U. S. Consul at Amoy, wrote, June 1st and 3d, that the Chinese had not thitherto "pretended to claim that part of the island "where the savages reside, or in any manner be responsible for their conduct," and that he had been so informed by "a high officer in the Chinese service."

island, after which the territory should revert to Chinese rule,—he, Li Wo Nen, to reap the advantages of whatever sacrifice of treasure and life might be made by Japan. This view of the matter was one which General Saigo was not disposed to consider in any way. His instructions contained no reference to the question of the future control of the island. He had received orders only to investigate the circumstances of the original murders, to enforce retribution and to take measures to prevent the recurrence of such deeds. He was therefore perfectly content to accept the present position as it appeared to be understood by the Chinese messengers. He would proceed with his own work, and leave the other matters to be decided by those within whose province they lay. And with this conclusion, the Chinese expressed themselves equally satisfied. There is no reason to doubt, even now, that they were satisfied. The hostile feelings that ultimately required to be dealt with in an extremely resolute manner were of a later birth. They did exhibit some inclination to take part in the operations projected against the aborigines, and spoke of the expediency of a joint expedition,—China to send a force to second the Japanese proceedings. But this proposition was very firmly, though politely, discouraged. After several hours, during which repeated interchanges of courtesy and good will took place, and the Chinese officials carried out their idea of representing to the Liangkiao inhabitants that they approved of the existing state of affairs—which announcement, it may be mentioned, was received with the utmost indifference inasmuch as the people of this quarter refuse to recognize Chinese, authority—the vessels of war departed. On the afternoon of the 23d, their flag was formally saluted by the frigate "Nishin" and the compliment was duly returned, with all honors. The manner in which this little ceremony was carried out afforded some amusement. It would be supposed that the simple task of discharging twenty-one guns was one that might be executed with promptness and precision by the least skilful ship's company that could be gathered together. But after the reports from the Japanese

vessel had ceased, there came a long delay, finally broken by an irregular peal of six guns, at intervals varying from a couple of seconds to half a minute. Then followed silence for at least three minutes, after which, six more ill-timed flashes and detonations, these again interrupted by a pause of certainly five minutes. Had any accident happened? Some of the Japanese thought this probable, and a boat was about to put off from the "Nishin" to make inquiries when the salute was renewed, and, with another long intermission after the next six discharges, carried through to the end. It was presently discovered that the frigate had only six available guns, and that the successive lapses were caused by a want of expertness in reloading. From that moment, the performances of Chinese artillery became, justly or unjustly, a jesting by-word in the camp of the Japanese and on board their ships.

It would be an affectation, however, to conceal that this visit, with its manifestations of good feeling, which were undoubtedly sincere enough in their way, at that time, afforded much satisfaction. The machinations that had been on foot ever since the plan of the expedition had become partially known; the open and secret efforts of certain foreign Ministers to interfere in every obstructive way, and the undisguised attempts to arouse the jealousy of the Chinese and stimulate them to hostile action had awakened a sense of uneasiness that was now, for the moment, completely allayed. At this stage of proceedings—perhaps at any stage—nothing could have deterred the Japanese from resolutely pursuing their project in one way or another, but they were naturally gratified to find that what might have been a formidable impediment, if it had been a fact, had really no existence except in the imagination of the credulous or the invention of the malicious. The whole ground upon the which the assumed right to interfere was based was now seen to be visionary, and apparently, had no more existence in the minds of the Chinese than in the judgment of Japan. There remained not the shadow of an excuse for the

interruptions which had so long delayed and embarrassed the action of the Japanese government, and the effects of which threatened at one time to be as ruinous as they really were costly and annoying. This was the state of things at the end of May. It is true that, a month later, a certain amount of success crowned the efforts of the instruments of mischief and ill-will. They did at last goad the Chinese into a false position of jealous irritation, from which the only possible extrication was by a road of humiliation and material acknowledgment of error. All that the interference of the foreign representatives ever effected was the abasement of China, which the Japanese themselves had never intended or contemplated. They forced the government of Peking to assume an attitude which it could not maintain, and which one of them, at least, had finally to advise it to retire from, at whatever sacrifice of dignity and consistency. Up to the end of May, I repeat, nothing had occurred on the part of either of the two nations directly concerned, to warrant the first accusation of hostile sentiment or design. The idea existed only in the conception of those who, upon principles which, let us hope, they can explain satisfactorily to themselves, used a power that rested in their hands to bring to a direful realization the fictitious creation of their own fancies.

In other respects this brief mission from China was of slight importance. Certain civil officers of high rank had been deputed to take part in it, but the magnates of that overgrown empire move slowly, and the vessels sailed while they were getting their baggage ready. By way of compensation, some of the higher authorities of Taiwan Fu—the principal Chinese city of Formosa, were brought down to add what weight they might to the representations of the Viceroy's special messenger and the naval officers. It may not be inappropriate to mention that their assurances of satisfaction with the operations in progress were mingled with expressions of unfeigned wonder that a nation should make such vast preparations and go to such enormous expense merely to punish the murderers of two or three dozen of

its lowest subjects. The observation illustrates, in a simple way, one of the most essential points of difference between the national character of the Chinese and that of the Japanese. It needed the powerful impulse given by Japan, in the case of the "Maria Luz" coolies, to stir the authorities of China to effective measures for the repression of a traffic that had desolated their seaports for scores of years. On the other hand, from the moment of the first intelligence of the outrage on the shipwrecked sailors of Miyako Sima, the Japanese had been busily engaged in concerting plans for the punishment of the marauders and for security against the recurrence of such aggressions.

CHAPTER XV.

LATER INTELLIGENCE FROM JAPAN—UNJUST ASPERSIONS—MR. BINGHAM'S PROTEST—POSSIBLE MOTIVES FOR HIS COURSE—RETROSPECTIVE DETAILS—SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE ACTION OF DIPLOMATIC MEMBERS—RESPONSIBILITIES OF OKUMA—CONCLUSIONS OF THAT OFFICER—AN INVESTIGATION AND ITS RESULTS—OKUBO TOSIMITI—FUTILITY OF FOREIGN OPPOSITION.

THE news from Japan, brought by the arrivals of the 22d, showed that the difficulties arising from outside antagonism to the expedition were still unsettled. For the first time we learned that the hasty departure of the "Yuko Maru" had been stigmatized as an act of bad faith, on the part either of the superior Japanese officials stationed at Nagasaki or of the persons more immediately engaged in the preliminary proceedings. And it also appeared that the extent of the hostility felt and exhibited by the opponents of the movement, active as it had already proved itself, was altogether underrated by those who had been cut off from a knowledge of the events succeeding those of the 27th of April. The letters received from Mr. Bingham had been understood to be strongly admonitory, but in no manner peremptory; and, indeed, his right to issue positive orders, under the circumstances, would not have been recognized by any of the Americans concerned. There was nothing to show that his protest was more than a formal expression of his dissatisfaction with the circumstance that Americans had been employed in this service. It was, to be sure, taken in a much more serious sense by certain members of the Japanese government, who had been taught by bitter experience that a

remonstrance from a foreign Minister is too often identical with a threat, and that a declaration of discontent with the course pursued by the authorities is equivalent to a menace of violence in case that course is not straightway abandoned. I have no desire to attribute any such purpose to Mr. Bingham. On the contrary, I have the strongest disposition to fairly represent his general acknowledgment of the independent rights and privileges of the Japanese. His original instincts, on assuming his duties as Minister of the United States, had been heartily averse to the system of oppressive interference which was exercised by many of his colleagues and in which his predecessor had not failed to participate. Nobody could have depicted more plainly than he did, in private and official communications, the injustice of the methods usually employed for compelling the Japanese to adopt measures and to consider practices repugnant alike to their individual feelings and their national policy. In this Formosa matter he departed for the first time from the line of conduct that he had apparently marked out for himself, and the result was the total failure of all his efforts to divert the government from its designs, and, which was more unfortunate, the destruction, by his own hands, of the ties of close relationship and paramount influence that were gradually becoming stronger and stronger between him and the people to whom he was accredited.

What Mr. Bingham's motives may have been, no person can presume to say with confidence; and it may be generous to him to suggest that, as the affair became complicated, and assumed phases that could hardly have been foreseen at the outset, they failed to be entirely clear to himself. It has been supposed by many who are in no respect unfriendly to him, and who are sincerely anxious to take the most favorable view of his action, that, having occupied so bold a position as he did in the advocacy of Japanese independence, and having on more than one occasion taken emphatic methods of declaring his convictions, he felt himself entitled to especial tokens of confidence, and was wounded and irritated by refusals to fully

acquaint him with the details of this important operation. The conjecture is not unreasonable, nor is it intended to reflect injuriously upon Mr. Bingham. If it really was one of his guiding motives he could hardly be expected to measure the lengths to which it might lead him, or to estimate precisely where his personal annoyance might begin or cease to act upon his official inspirations. Diplomatic representatives are mortal, and it is easily conceivable that an unfavorable prejudice, thus produced, might tend to create the very state of mind from which the supposed necessity for for authoritative interposition would spring. It is quite certain that Mr. Bingham's dislike to the Formosa project was not based solely upon the connection of Americans with it. And it is equally certain that, at the beginning of the business, he showed no great reluctance to giving it his full sanction, as was evident by his telegram advising the transfer of Lieut. Commander Cassel to the Japanese service. When he commenced to oppose it with real vigor, he apparently knew no more about it than when he had vouchsafed his good offices with the authorities at Washington. At the end of March he was in accord with the intentions of the Americans concerned. On the 18th of April, he wrote to the Japanese Foreign Office that he had read, in a Yokohama newspaper, certain statements which induced him to believe that a war against China was in contemplation. The journal referred to had always been notorious for the untrustworthiness of its intelligence in relation to Japanese affairs, and the idea of accepting its assertions in evidence of a proposed government action could not have been seriously entertained by any person. It is not credible that Mr. Bingham was actually misled by it. He insisted however, upon an explanation, and received in answer a definite assurance that Japan was "far from entertaining even the slightest intention of performing any hostile act against "China." This was in strict confirmation of the pledges previously given by General Le Gendre and Mr. Cassel, who had distinctly declared that no aggressive movements, as respected China, were included in the plan of

operations. Thus Mr. Bingham had the positive avowals of the American gentlemen and of the Japanese government to weigh against the irresponsible accusation of a newspaper which was thoroughly well known to be entitled to no credit whatever. He did not choose to accept the former, and proceeded to issue the protest, alluded to in an earlier chapter, remonstrating against the employment of citizens of the United States until "the "written and authenticated consent of the Chinese government to the "expedition" should have been obtained. It is possible that other influences had a share in persuading him to this action, but no evidence of them appeared. That he was ignorant of the independent position occupied by the savage tribes in Formosa and of the repeated declarations of Chinese officials to that effect, is sufficiently clear; but that he was determined to continue ignorant of them, in spite of opportunities for discovering the true state of affairs, is also apparent. A memorandum was given him by the Japanese Foreign Minister, indicating that the Chinese government had declared the savage territory to be beyond their control. Instead of following the course of inquiry suggested by this document, Mr. Bingham committed the singular error of utterly misrepresenting its purport in a despatch to his own government. He stated tnat the "jurisdiction of China" over "the island was admitted in the memorandum." As a matter of truth, there was no such admission. On the contrary, it was very plainly stated that the authority of China extended over only "the northern and "a portion of the Western Coast." It is not to be supposed that Mr. Bingham would have intentionally reversed the truth in so flagrant a manner as this, but the fact that he could so completely misconstrue an explicit document, even by inadvertence, shows that his strong hostility to the movement had already made him disregardful of the caution with which an officical holding his position should have proceeded in a matter of such delicacy and grave importance.

Another motive that has been atributed to Mr. Bingham by those

who are well disposed toward him is the anxiety he may really have felt lest American citizens should be beguiled into an enterprise wherein they might incur perils from which their government would not protect them. It appears evident that he had allowed himself to be convinced that the project was one which might be regarded as warlike by the Chinese government, and that the consent of China ought to have been procured before it was put into execution. For his persistence in accusing the Japanese of hostile designs against a friendly Power, after their absolute disavowal, it is difficult to find an excuse. But supposing him to be sincere in his belief, he may have held it to be his duty to extricate his fellow-citizens from the false position into which he erroneously supposed them to have been led, though at the risk of giving deep and unwarranted offence to the Japanese government. Even this alternative presents some awkward features. Nothing was brought forward to justify his determination to look upon the expedition as a measure of war against China, after the unconditional disclaimer of the Japanese government. Ignorance upon the subject can hardly be taken as sufficient palliation. As a matter of fact it was known in China at that time, by more than one officer of the United States, that no jurisdiction over the Formosan savages was asserted by the Chinese government. As late as the 29th of May following, Mr. Williams, the Chargé at Peking, wrote that the authorities of that capital did not look upon the landing of Japanese troops in Formosa as a declaration of war. It was not until the proceedings of Mr. Bingham and other foreign representatives became known that the Chinese government seized the idea of putting forward a claim that they had not before thought of maintaining. But it is proper to admit that Mr. Bingham was undoubtedly sincere in his conviction, and that, in addition to his personal dissatisfaction with the scheme, he may have earnestly desired to relieve the Americans from the risks that he fancied they were running. Viewed in this light, his interference does not, indeed, take the appearance of a just or a dignified

transaction, but it has none of the utterly selfish and wanton character that distinguished the course of more than one foreign official in the same direction.

Mr. Bingham misunderstood the position held by the Japanese and by their American employés. He did not, apparently, misunderstand his own, for he never took active steps to impede their progress by virtue of his authority as United States' Minister. His efforts were confined solely to an attempt to persuade the Japanese to dismiss them and to detach any American ships that might have been engaged. His protest had a different effect from what he foresaw, since, as has been explained, it was taken as carrying with it a much more ominous meaning than he could have possibly intended. The government at Tokio at once sent messages to the Commissioners at Nagasaki, directing their chief to investigate and take such steps in the matter as seemed essential. They never directly ordered the dismissal of the Americans, as appears to have been supposed by certain Japanese officials of rank as well as by Mr. Bingham. The responsibility devolving upon Okuma Sigenobu became extremely serious, and it is well known that he gave the subject the most anxious consideration. After consultation with the other members of the commission, he arrived at the conclusion that the engagements of the American officers in no way conflicted with the public law of nations—a conclusion that was afterward abundantly confirmed by the opinion of the State Department at Washington, as expressed in despatches from Mr. Fish to Mr. Bingham and to Consul-General Seward, at Shanghai. "To constitute an offence," "said Mr. Fish, "there must be a purpose of carrying on war with a power "with which the United States are at peace, and the offender must contem- "plate taking part as a belligerent." That there was no such purpose of war was well enough known to every Japanese, and, since the formal declaration of the Chinese government that Japan was justified in sending the expedition, is now probably apparent even to Mr. Bingham. The

question was nevertheless many times discussed, with a complete appreciation of the gravity of the consequences involved. When it was known to be nearly decided, verbal orders were given by General Saigo to Messrs. Cassel and Wasson to be in readiness to start at an appointed hour. Finally General Le Gendre, perceiving the necessity of regulating every step at this juncture with the clearest precision, visited the ship upon which these gentlemen were stationed, to superintend the arrangements for departure, and also to take their written orders back to the shore for the purpose of adding to them the endorsement of the chief commissioner. This formality, which was intended only to shield the departing officers from any possible charge of having proceeded upon insufficient authority, was carried out so far as obtaining the signature went, but, before the documents could be redelivered, the arrangements for sailing were concluded, and it was thought advisable on board, in view of the delays already undergone, to start at once, leaving the papers to be forwarded in due season, which was done at the earliest practicable opportunity. This otherwise unimportant incident is narrated at length to show the actual basis of the unwarranted accusations, which were current at the time, that the American employés had left Nagasaki in violation of orders.

Being now fairly committed to his policy of opposition, it was inevitable that Mr. Bingham should endeavor in every way to make good the stand he had assumed. His representations had become so urgent that it was thought expedient to send a special commissioner from Tokio, with advisory powers, to examine into the progress of the affair, and settle decisively all questions as to the propriety of the successive steps that had been taken. For this duty Okubo Tosimiti, a member of the Imperial Council, of equal rank with Okuma, was selected. The reputation of this officer for sobriety of judgment and firm integrity had long been established. At a later period, it fell to his share to give still more convincing proofs of these high qualities. On arriving at Nagasaki he at once applied

himself to the work assigned, and in the course of a few days reported that the proceedings, thus far, were without a flaw. Every reasonable precaution had been taken to preserve the good faith and credit of the government. No officer connected with the enterprise had failed in a single detail of the tasks confided to him. He sanctioned and approved the immediate departure of General Saigo for the fulfilment of his principal duties. With regard to General Le Gendre, the only doubt raised was whether he could best serve the purpose of the government by going to Formosa or by returning to Tokio. For various and obvious reasons, his inclination turned him toward Formosa, but it was mutually decided that, for the present, the capital would be his scene of most useful action. Thither he proceeded, followed presently by Okubo, whose immediate labors in the premises were now concluded. Okuma remained a while to adjust certain necessary affairs of business, but, before the end of May, rejoined his associates at the seat of government.

CHAPTER XVI.

INCIDENTS OF THE RECENT ENCOUNTERS—SAVAGE CHIEFTAINS SLAIN—THE POLICY DECIDED UPON—INDEPENDENT VOLUNTEERS—QUESTIONABLE DISCIPLINE—TEMPER OF THE COAST VILLAGERS—EFFECT OF THE BOTAN DEFEAT UPON THE MOUNTAINEERS—A WARLIKE INTERPRETER—EXCESSIVE HEAT—DIVERSIONS OF THE SOLDIERS.

THE presence of the Commander in Chief now rendered it desirable that the whole condition of affairs, as between the Japanese and the savage tribes, should be reviewed, and a distinct plan of dealing with them be settled upon. In the course of the consultations that began on the 23d of May, several circumstances were incidentally brought forward which had generally a direct bearing upon this main question, and which may be set down as they came under discussion, without particular order or regularity.

One of the weapons which the Botans had left behind them in their hasty flight, and which was picked up and brought into camp, was the gun of Alok, the chief of the tribe; and it was presently discovered that he had been fatally wounded. Moreover, among the heads cut from the bodies of the slain, that of the chief's son had been identified. Here was an instance where a barbarous practice was not wholly without advantage. The absolute certainty of the death of this young leader, who had been one of the most active and influential of his party, would naturally be of importance in future dealings with the natives. General Saigo, however, expressed his disapproval of this custom of decapitating dead bodies, and it was understood that there would be no repetition of it, although it had been a regular accompaniment of Japanese warfare in all times. It would

probably not have been begun here at all, but for the example set by the Botans themselves, which incited the Satsuma men, especially, to retaliate in kind.

The General took an early opportunity of giving new assurances that it had not been his desire that conflicts should take place with the savages, and that all reasonable means should have been taken to avert them; but the events just preceding his arrival seemed to leave him no choice. He approved the decision that had been agreed upon, several days before, that the first two attacks, when one soldier was killed and three others wounded, should be passed over for the present; but felt that the third had been on rather too extensive a scale. If the Japanese should now pause, he conceived, their immobility might be taken as a sign of weakness, and the consequence might be an aggressive combination of many of the tribes. At this moment, only the Botans and their closest neighbors were known to be in antagonistic alliance. The assault upon the boat's crew of the "Nishin" appeared to be a minor and independent affair. It was repeatedly recognized that the rashness of unauthorized individuals had brought about at least two of the serious encounters, but that was a fact which could not now be allowed to affect the position. Although no armed demonstration would have been sanctioned on the Japanese side, at this stage, if the aborigines had not led off in their own way, there would now be considerable difficulty in keeping the soldiers quiet for any length of time. It had become a question between a regular and organized campaign, which might go far toward finishing the business with a few decisive blows, and a series of desultory excursions by small parties which would be just as likely to produce bad results, as good. The discipline of some followers of the force was rather doubtful, and the control over them was exercised rather by the personal influence of the General than by the application of any strict rule. These were a body of semi-independent volunteers, mostly from Satsuma, and of somewhat superior rank to the members of the

regularly enlisted body—ardent seekers after martial fame, who seemed determined to be in the front whenever opportunity offered, and to make opportunities, if such did not arise of themselves in the natural order of events. It did not appear practicable to restrain them within any prescribed lines of action. There had been no orders, for example, on the 22d, when they made themselves prominent, to advance beyond the village that was to be disarmed, bnt it never entered their heads to stop until they had had a sight of the enemy, and so they pushed forward, with or without leaders, as it might be. Then, of course, it was impossible to keep the others back. Many of the volunteers had won the red cap years before—a mark of honorable service in battle,—and the regulars were in quest of theirs. Under the circumstances, and especially in the difficult and irregular country through which they moved, officers and privates were, for the time, very nearly upon an equality. Probably it was not in situations like these that the value of the new military training of the Japanese soldiers could be tested. The simplest and oldest-fashioned principles of warfare were the best for this region. For the work which was particularly needed, they had abundance of valor, but they were not too highly gifted with the better part of that quality—discretion. When the Botans rose upon them, on the morning of the 22d, they had advanced to within thirty feet of the natural barricade that stretched across the river through which they were wading. The first discharge of the enemy was received without the slightest preparation, and then their natural instinct, rather than the recollection of military precepts, led them to the best way out of their difficulty.

When the rattling of musketry, on this occasion, was heard in the camp, re-enforcements at once started to the scene, as has been mentioned. A number of the inhabitants of the Liangkiao valley villages buckled on their rude weapons and expressed a determination to go and have a share in fighting the Botans. They were reminded that their assistance was by no means necessary, and moreover, that the Japanese were not yet fully familiar with

the difference between their appearance and that of the savages, from which ignorance unpleasant consequences might arise if they were seen flying about with arms in their hands. So they concluded to stay at home. It seems probable that this little ebullition was sincere, for the Botans were looked upon as natural enemies by all their neighbors. They were by far the most powerful tribe of the peninsula, and were on terms of close alliance with only their immediate neighbors. I heard from some of the former occupants of deserted hamlets near the place of the skirmish—men who naïvely admitted that they were afraid to remain in their old homes because the Japanese would take them for confederates of the Botans, while the Botans would take them for confederates of the Japanese, so that they would be sure to be killed any way,—that they could live in peace only on condition of paying frequent and exhausting tribute to all the members of that tribe who chose to demand it. There was no doubt that Isa's subjects were bitterly opposed to them, as were, likewise, the majority of all the people of the Southern peninsula. On the evening of the 22d, messages came in from the "head-men" of Hongkang, a Chinese-speaking, but independent, village six or seven miles north of Liangkiao Bay, beseeching an alliance and asking to have their settlement taken, as well as that of Sialiao, as a place of occupation. There was no lack of friendly advances, from many quarters, as soon as the news of the defeat of Alok had spread around. The wary Isa sent a communication to the effect that, notwithstanding his first refusal, he had determined to pay a visit to the camp, and bring with him a few presents—bullocks, fowls, etc.—that he had selected from his farms; but he was apprehensive, since the troubles had broken out, that he might be mistaken for an enemy, and brought to grief unwittingly. He therefore proposed to send the cattle forward, and come himself at a later period.

As an illustration of the impulses with which some of the independent volunteers, above alluded to, took part in the active business of the expedition, I will mention the case of a young interpreter whose performances

fell within my own observation. He was a native of Hizen, the province in which the late Japanese rebellion occurred, (February, 1874,) and many of his family and friends were concerned in that ill-advised outbreak. Some of them committed suicide, and he himself fell under suspicion, and was closely watched, in Tokio, for a time. Knowing this, and longing for an opportunity to prove his fidelity to the government, he asked for and received an appointment as one of the translators for this expedition. He felt confident, although his functions were those of a non-combatant, that he could find or make an occasion for giving some sign of personal devotion. A day or two after his arrival, he began to lay plans for private enterprises, one or two of which he carried into effect, somewhat to the annoyance of his superiors. It was he who led off a party of explorers on the 12th, and he also, after the murder of the Satsuma man, on the 17th, went inland, on his own account, to look into the affair. At last the forward movement of the 22d gave him his chance. He started off with his rifle and plenty of ammunition, forgetting his coat and hat in his eagerness to get to the front. Being observed, and asked what he was about, he replied that he guessed he was out deer-hunting—a bit of pleasantry suggested by experiences in Yezo, where he had long resided. That was the last seen of him until he came into camp at nightfall, bringing three heads with him. I regret to say that he had cut them off himself. I suppose it would not be fair to regret that he had killed their owners, the work of destruction being a foregone conclusion, and he having so much more to gain—at least from his point of view—than any of his associates, by taking a prominent part in the day's work.

On the 23d, the heat again set in with great severity, but most of the men who had been prostrated by it at first were now recovered. The prospect of brisk action appeared to have revived them. The wounded of the 22d were disposed of in a fairly, but not yet sufficiently well, appointed hospital, and bore their injuries with the fortitude for which the Japanese

are justly distinguished. All but one of them eventually recovered. They were thoroughly well provided, as was indeed, the entire camp, with material comforts. The Japanese soldier is a Sybarite, compared with the average European man-at-arms. I have already described how, in Formosa, he was relieved from the fatiguing labors of the field and even of the effort of cooking his food. He was not even obliged to go in search of his meals. They were brought around to the tents, by coolies, at the appointed hours. His supply of victuals was extravagantly profuse, and quantities were wasted every day. He had rations of beer, and of spirits if he needed them. For his comfort when not on duty, he was supplied with loose cotton robes and straw slippers, which were issued to all, upon demand. He ought to have been happy, and I believe he was, for a merrier little army never made day and night lively with jests and songs. Nine-tenths of it was made up of very young men, from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Their placability, except when in pursuit of the enemy, was uninterrupted, and a quarrel was a thing undreamed of. They had one great cause of happiness in their proximity to the sea and rivers, in which they could bathe a dozen times a day. The national anxiety for personal cleanliness was thus easily gratified. The general cleanliness of the camp was not so well provided for. Sanitary rules, if any existed, were wofully disregarded, and there was already danger to be apprehended from the masses of refuse and offal that was allowed to collect among and around the groups of tents. But as this evil lay in the future, it was not taken into consideration by the soldier, who passed his time in slumber, contests of light repartee, a variety of social sports and occasional diversions of a more muscular kind, such as running and wrestling matches. The sands were crowded almost every evening to witness exhibitions of this latter popular exercise.

CHAPTER XVII.

SECOND CONFERENCE WITH ISA AND OTHER CHIEFS—THE BEARING OF THE SAVAGE LEADER—OVERESTIMATED STRENGTH OF SOUTHERN TRIBES—CONDITIONS OF AMICABLE INTERCOURSE—A FAIR COMPACT—EXCHANGE OF PRESENTS.

A SECOND interesting interview with the chief Isa and a number of his confederate leaders took place on the evening of May 25th under the following circumstances. The messenger who came in from the mountains on the 22d, announcing the desire of the ruler of the most important of the Southern tribes to visit the camp, and, at the same time the apprehensions in regard to his safety which prevented him from doing so, was directed to return with an answer to the effect that the Japanese officers had displayed their confidence in Isa's good faith by going, unattended, to the borders of his territory, and that they expected the same trust to be shown by him; that if he chose to come, at any time of day or night that suited him, he should be well received, and orders would be given to withdraw the soldiers from the place that should be selected as a rendezvous, so that he need meet none of them; that there were several reasons why his presence was now desired, not the least of which was the wish to communicate to him, personally, the intentions of the Japanese concerning the hostile tribes, and finally, that if he was too distrustful to accept the promises of protection that were sent him, his presents could not be received. The messenger intimated that a response of this sort had been expected, and that Isa was prepared to come to Sialiaò, if he could be certain of an authorized invitation; and, if Miya would go out to bring him, he would appear without

delay. Accordingly, Miya was despatched on the 24th. He returned at night, saying that the chief would have come with him but for the heavy rain that had fallen all day, which made it difficult to drive forward the cattle he intended as gifts, and that he might be expected on the 25th. At nine o'clock, the next evening, word was brought that he had arrived, and was waiting on the other side of the river with half a dozen attendants, a larger body of his warriors having stopped at the outskirts of the village. The two generals, Saigo and Tani, Admiral Akamatsu, the American officers and a few others at once went out of camp and proceeded to Miya's house in Sialiao, in the interior courtyard of which, dimly lighted, the group of natives sat on benches, awaiting the conference.

Either because the novelty of meeting with foreigners had now worn away and left him more at ease, or because the excitement of his individual responsibility was less here than in the interior, at the head of his warriors, Isa certainly appeared to much better advantage than on the occasion of the former interview. He was tranquil, composed and dignified. There was not a trace of agitation about him from beginning to end, and, while he betrayed no servile eagerness to accept the alliance offered him, he was equally free from any exhibition of excessive confidence or defiance. I am bound to say that no man in his position could have demeaned himself better than he did—with more self respect or with a more careful consideration of the interests dependent upon him. The occasion was undoubtedly one of great solemnity to him and his companions. For the first time in his life he found himself confronted by strangers who, instead of recognizing his supremacy, were prepared to dispute it if necessary. Until this moment, he had probably never known what it was to exercise the least restraint upon his instincts or his passions. But the past few days had been full of severe, though indirect lessons. The foreigners had met one of his own race with a troop of followers, and had defeated and scattered them with heavy losses. Alok, a rival chieftain, formerly one of his own confederation,

lay dead within a few miles of the central village of Southern Formosa. It would certainly not have been a matter for surprise to us, if Isa had absolutely refused to hold further communication, and retreated to his mountain fastnesses, on the one hand, or presented himself in an attitude of abject submission, on the other. For it was now becoming apparent that the strength of these savage tribes had been greatly overestimated, and that they really existed only in tens where they had been extravagantly counted in hundreds and even thousands. How the word "tribe," which I now use rather from habit than from present belief in its accuracy, first came to be employed in connection with the inhabitants of this region, I cannot explain; but it certainly conveys a very erroneous impression to the Western mind. A tribe in Southern Formosa, means, as a rule, simply the occupants of a single village, and it is unusual to find any one of these containing more than a couple of hundred inhabitants.

When questions of this sort began to arise, the absence of General Le Gendre was very severely felt. He alone had become, by antecedent experience, thoroughly familiar with most of them, and, as no doubt had originally existed respecting his personal participation in the expedition, it had not been thought necessary for others to burden themselves with a mass of detail the practical application of which, even if it had been completely mastered, would still have been a difficult task. Now there was no other course but to go over the whole ground anew, and to re-gather, from such sources as we could command, the very information which he had obtained, under more advantageous circumstances, several years before. About this time, we were beginning to receive intelligence which satisfied us that the entire population of the region formerly understood to be under Tokitok's control could not exceed three thousand. Even this, there was reason to believe, might be an excessive estimate. The number of effective men at Isa's disposal, calculating upon this basis, would be very small, and the hopelessness of any attempt on his part to withstand a series of assaults

must have been perfectly clear to him. But, as I have said, his demeanor expressed no tinge of trepidation, and the only striking peculiarity of his bearing was the intense seriousness which seems natural to him. In attitude, gesture and speech he was as simple and straightforward, and also as completely self possessed, as the most thoroughly tutored man of the world could have been.

The minute details of the conversation, with its frequent and inevitable repetitions and divergencies, would have no interest for the general reader. On the part of the Japanese, it was desired that Isa should signify his friendliness by promising not to harbor or protect the Botans in any manner, and to hold as prisoners any fugitives that might escape into his territory; by allowing the Japanese free circulation among his villages, and such intercourse with his people as might become necessary during their expeditions to the interior; by sternly admonishing the Koalut and other tribes that had shown signs of animosity, of the danger they were incurring, and by making such arrangements in the settlements along the coast as would enable ships to anchor unmolested, and their crews to go on shore for water or provisions. These were the only demands presented, and the chief was repeatedly assured that whatever force the Japanese might bring to Formosa, and however powerful they might prove themselves against their enemies, they would ask nothing of their allies but these few and necessary evidences of a friendly disposition. On the other hand, the Japanese proposed to guarantee immunity to the people for whose good behavior Isa would answer by issuing papers of protection to their "head men," and by sending them flags with certain inscriptions, the display of which would prevent all aggressions from the soldiers. In response, Isa readily agreed to the several requests, in a manner that implied a sense of their moderation, and in one or two instances went voluntarily far beyond the requirements in his offers of co-operation. He said, for example, that, everything having now been made clear to him, he would sanction the free admission

of the soldiers and sailors wherever they needed to go; that he did not believe the Koalut or any other tribes would hereafter oppose them, but if they did, he would himself come into the camp, guide the Japanese to the treacherous region, and assist them in punishing the breach of faith to the extent of utter extermination, if it must be. He objected, however, to visits from the inhabitants of the villages of the west coast, saying that he could not have any dealings with them and that their presence would lead to endless quarrels. He was, in return, assured that there was no intention of forcing these or any other unwelcome intruders upon him, and that there would certainly be no interference in any of their local disagreements. With regard to the Botans, he signified an entire willingness to see them all extirpated, together with their unruly neighbors, the Kusukuts. It appeared to be established beyond a doubt that these two tribes were actually of the eighteen over which Tokitok had been supposed to rule, and that they did at one time form part of the confederation; for, in accepting the offer of the flags, Isa said that he should require only sixteen, that being the number of villages now within his influence;—the other two he left to the Japanese.

The conference lasted about two hours. During the whole of it, the native chiefs, of whom there were four besides the leader and spokesman, sat upon one line of benches, while the principal Japanese and American officers occupied another line, opposite to and parallel with them. The interpreter Johnson, who was a treasure of intelligence and acuteness, stood at one end, nearest to the speakers. All that was said in English was translated by him into Chinese, which language, it now appeared, was understood by Isa, though he could not use it. He nodded at the end of each sentence, to signify his comprehension of the meaning, and gave his answers in the strange rapid and guttural accents of his own speech. It seems to be a language the sounds of which are produced almost entirely by the throat and tongue, hardly requiring any movement of the lips. While he was talking most emphatically, the muscles of his mouth were

motionless, and it was often a question, in the partial obscurity, whether he or one of his companions was speaking. Whatever he said was put into Chinese by one or another of his attendants, and thence into English by Johnson. His associates took very little part in the discussion. One of them showed considerable confusion when the recent misbehavior of the Koaluts was spoken of, and it turned out that he, though not the actual head of that tribe, was a sort of responsible agent for two or three villages, of which Koalut was one. He endeavored to excuse the discharge of the fire arms at the time of the "Nishin's" visit, and, I believe, declared that the Japanese had mistaken the shooting of birds, by some boys, for a hostile attack. It was not thought desirable to examine into the question at this particular time. One request Isa had to make on his side. He stated that the settlement belonging to his people which lay nearest to the scene of the recent skirmish had been entered by soldiers and coast inhabitants, and some of the houses destroyed, in consequence of which the people had fled to the mountains. He wished the troops to be particularly notified that the village in question was not a fair object of attack. It was explained to him that this, as well as certain adjoining places, had been suspected of giving aid to the Botans; but that if he would be answerable for them, and it should be found they had been unjustly treated, they should not only be protected but should receive ample compensation.

All matters of business having been adjusted, the chiefs were now notified that General Saigo had some presents to offer them, which were duly brought in and distributed. They consisted of two superb Japanese swords, packages of silk, woollen and cotton cloths, and a variety of what we should call "fancy goods." They were not received with much warmth, but that was rather to be attributed to awkwardness, I imagine, than to indifference. In return they handed over their gifts of dressed skins and live chickens, mentioning that the cattle were waiting outside and would be delivered in the morning. A few tubs of Japanese "sake" were added

to the endowments of the aborigines, half a dozen cups of Chinese "sam-shu" were handed around, and the meeting ended, a little after midnight. Isa was invited to remain another day, and be shown over the camp, but he said his people would be anxious, and that he felt bound to start for home immediately. He promised, however, to return before many days.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PROJECTED MARCH INTO THE INTERIOR—DIFFICULTIES OF THE UNDERTAKING —ESTIMATED FORCE OF THE SAVAGE TRIBES—INACCURACY OF ANTECEDENT REPORTS—POLITICAL RELATIONS OF THE VARIOUS CHIEFS.

THE matter next taken in hand was the arrangement of a plan for penetrating the interior from several directions, with the design of driving the hostile savages from all their principal posts, seizing their strongholds, and occupying the avenues of communication throughout the southern part of the island. The difficulties in executing this scheme, it was presently found, would arise from the inaccessible character of the country to be traversed and not from the numbers of the enemy likely to be encountered. It gradually became more and more certain that not only the extent of the population, but also the political organization of Southern Formosa, had been greatly misapprehended. The disadvantages under which most visitors and explorers had hitherto labored were in many respects easily accounted for, and it was no matter of wonder that much of the information gathered by them should turn out untrustworthy. The Chinese-speaking natives of the west coast had supplied most of the details, and, apart from the fact that not one of them had ever been allowed to circulate freely in the interior, and that therefore their sources of intelligence were scanty, it always suited their purposes to exaggerate the strength of the race which, while inferior in numbers, held them in a condition of constant terror. The opportunities of foreigners for personal observation had been few, and the results of the visits of Messrs. Pickering and Hughes and General Le Gendre were, unfortunately, not now available, owing to the latter's continued absence.

As our own inquiries proceeded, it seemed that the representations of the Liangkiao inhabitants were entitled to a reasonable degree of credit. They were convinced that the Japanese had come with a settled determination to scour the country in search of their enemies, and that sooner or later the truth must be known; and they were not without apprehensions as to the consequences in case they should be detected in any attempt at deception. With a view to the operations now contemplated, particular inquiries were set on foot, especially to ascertain the fighting force of all the tribes and the position of the various villages, at least approximately. According to the estimates of the "head men" of the settlements in Liangkiao valley the eighteen tribes possessed, at the time of the arrival of the Japanese, 2,360 effective men, distributed as follows:—

Botan	250	Pakolut	155	Baya	90
Sawali	220	Siapuli	142	Peigu	86
Kusukut	190	Osuantao	130	Tuilasok	74
Mantsui	175	Loput	126	Koatan	60
Kuchilai	165	Chinakai	120	Chicksia	53
Patingi	160	Lingluan	114	Koalut	50

There is reason to believe that this calculation was still excessive, and its extreme minuteness made it open to suspicion; but it seemed to have been made with sufficient good intention, and it was undoubtedly more nearly exact than any that had previously been offered.* Only the people of Botan and Kusukut were positively known to be in arms against the Japanese. A few other villages were supposed to be to some extent allied and in sympathy with them; but this was not absolutely known to be the

* I afterward had the opportunity of comparing this estimate with one made by General Le Gendre in 1869, whose information, apart from that supplied by his own observations, was gathered from the travellers, Messrs. Pickering and Horn. He fixed the entire savage population, exclusive of "Amiyas," at 2335, which was undoubtedly exact or nearly so at the time. It is possible that the hostile tribes, on learning of the Japanese expedition, may have called in to their assistance the warriors who had emigrated northward from their villages in former years, and thus temporarily increased their number to something approaching the figures above given. But as a whole they are undoubtedly excessive, although probably not, in this instance, intended to be so by our informants.

case. It is quite as probable that they were merely holding themselves aloof until further events should show them more clearly on which side their interest lay. Supposing the statement of our Liangkiao informants to be correct, there could hardly be more than 375 or 400 men to be overcome, for it was known that thirty were killed on the 22d of May, or died afterward from wounds then received, and that several others were disqualified for future hostile action. The number seemed insignificant enough, especially when the imperfection of their weapons was considered; but their real strength was in the natural barriers that guard the approaches to their country. They themselves believed these to be insurmountable, and were confident that their inner strongholds were completely inaccessible.

Although there are good grounds for doubting the precise figures, it is probable that the relative force of the different tribes was accurately represented; and, if this be so, it will be a surprise to those who have cared to follow all that has come to light in recent years respecting the occupants of this almost unknown region, to find that some of the most redoubted among them are comparatively inferior in numbers. Thus the Koalut villagers, with whom the tragedy of the "Rover" and the unfruitful expedition of the "Hartford" and the "Wyoming" are associated, were set down as fewer than any of the others. Tokitok, who, during the latter part of his life, was acknowledged to hold a certain supremacy over the whole of the southern peninsula, was only "head man" of Tuilasok, one of the smallest hamlets. These apparent anomalies were explained, after a fashion, by assurances that the extremely warlike character of the Koaluts had given them a particularly dangerous reputation, and that Tokitok had peculiar administrative qualities, which secured for him an elevation to which his actual power did not entitle him. As far as he was concerned this is very likely to have been the case, for it was now clearly seen that none of the general influence or control once exercised by him had descended to his son. With regard to the Koaluts, the distinction they have

gained is, probably, a matter of accident. If the "Rover" had been wrecked nearer any other part of the coast the result would have been the same, and the particular tribe into whose hands the survivors might have fallen would then have become the most notorious for the time. It will, in fact, be necessary to dismiss altogether a great part of the information about this district which has hitherto been accepted as tolerably authentic. Even the dominion of Tokitok was by no means so fixed or so general as has been commonly supposed. The submission of the Botans to his rule, in former times, which had come to be regarded as one of the safe historical facts of the locality, now began to be disputed, and the whole confederacy, as it has been called for the sake of convenience, to be newly described as a mere accidental and occasional union for casual purposes, and not a regularly organized league in any sense. Even the supremacy of Isa, the Sawali leader, was finally represented as not due to any rights bequeathed or entrusted to him by Tokitok, but solely to his position as the chief of the most considerable tribe, excepting the Botans, in the neighborhood. If the general tenor of this later intelligence were to be taken as more trustworthy than that at first received, neither he nor any other "head man" had real and undisputed power outside of his own village, or cluster of villages.

CHAPTER XIX.

PLAN OF THE PROPOSED EXCURSION—HEAVY RAIN STORMS—SLEEPING UNDER UMBRELLAS—COMMERCIAL SPIRIT OF THE LIANGKIAO NATIVES—METHODS OF INTERCOURSE—THE LAST OF THE BALD-HEADED AGITATOR—DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING GUIDES—A UNITED STATES SHIP IN DANGER.

WHILE the new investigations showed that the number of the savages to be encountered had been too highly estimated, it also revealed that the difficulties of reaching the interior would be far greater than had ever been calculated upon. This intelligence did not at all change the intentions of the Japanese officers, but it was recognized as diminishing the chances of effecting a large capture of the enemy. The first and most important result looked for was the acquisition of a more complete knowledge of the roads and passes and the general topography of the country than anybody in the neighborhood possessed or was willing to give. If any seizures of the enemy could be made at the same time, that would be an additional advantage; but I think that no person calculated upon this excepting, possibly, one or two enthusiasts. To gain the needed knowledge of the Botan and Kusukut region and the approaches thereto it was finally arranged that three columns should be sent out, with instructions to concentrate in the heart of the hostile locality. The routes which they were to follow and the general scheme of the operations were carefully and clearly laid down, and the departure was fixed for the 1st of June. It would have been at an earlier day but for the heavy rains that had again begun to fall on the 24th, making the roads almost impassable and swelling the rivers so that it was extremely dangerous to ford them. Even in the camp,

we were subject to much discomfort and annoyance. The storms of this region are peculiar, so far as my observation goes, in the fact that they come on with great suddenness, rage with fury for two or three hours and then give way in the day time to an intolerable heat, which lasts about an hour, and is followed by a new deluge. At night it is the same, except that the alternations of heat are omitted. No tent could withstand the torrents, and the idea of expecting any protection from canvas coverings was abandoned very early in the campaign. Such of us as had umbrellas used them uninterruptedly, for the sun pierced the tents as easily as the water poured through them. We even slept under umbrellas—when we slept at all—which, I fancy, is an experience not common in camps in any other part of the world.

Signs of clear weather did not appear until the first of June. For some time before that date, our days did not contain more than three serviceable hours each. These were improved by the villagers of the vicinity in various friendly demonstrations toward the soldiers, chiefly tending to the establishment of commercial intercourse. They discovered that they possessed sundry marketable productions, and an unexpected spirit of mercantile enterprise animated them in consequence. I regret to say that a certain strong liquor, distilled from sweet potatos, found the readiest sale of all their goods, with results not always creditable to the purchasers, and sometimes distressing to friendly lookers-on. These peddling visitors made the camp very lively with their numerous cries, which they chanted as naturally as if they had passed a long apprenticeship in London or New York, although it did not seem possible that they had ever enjoyed the occasion to engage in such traffic before. In addition to their mischievous "sam-shu," they brought candies, cakes, eggs, poultry, fish and sweet potatoes. Occasionally a basket of bananas or pine-apples appeared, but these were importations from the North, not being cultivated just here. There was no difficulty of communication between the residents

and the Japanese, as the former could write Chinese characters to a limited extent, and the Chinese, being a symbolical language, is universal in its application. English or French may as well be written in Chinese characters as the dialect of Confucius and the Classics; and, as the Japanese adopted these symbols ages ago, they had only to trace their thoughts on paper,—or in the sand, which was more common,—to be immediately understood. Of course the spoken language of each was unintelligible to the other, and it was droll enough to see how this comprehension by the eye and want of comprehension by the ear puzzled the natives. I am half inclined to think that many of them looked upon it as a fiction and a pretence, for they would talk incessantly through all their transactions, while the Japanese, naturally, did not utter a sound. It was always interesting, as well as amusing, to see the soldiers and the merchants, at the critical point of a bargain, run to a vacant square yard of sand, brush it smooth, and signify the respective conditions of purchase and sale with the ends of their fingers. Sometimes they would write imaginary signs on their bare hands, and in such cases, a curious operation of mere instinct would generally follow. A word having been indicated, and understood by the observer simply through following the movement of the finger, the writer would brush away the supposititious outline from his palm before proceeding with his next phantom syllable. The Liangkiao populace had by this time almost entirely abandoned the distrustful and somewhat inimical attitude which they chose to assume on our first arrival. They had also relinquished the expectation of becoming millionaires in the twinkling of a pigtail. Most of them now announced themselves ready to work, at rates not absolutely monstrous, in any way that might be required of them. Even the shaven-headed agitator, of whose eccentric alternations from wrath to rapture I have once or twice spoken, began to pale his ineffectual fire and wandered about among the tents, inviting attention with docile smiles and plaintive cries, to the wares which he carried in two capacious baskets.

The last time I saw him roused to a demonstration of fury was under circumstances which I may briefly narrate before taking a final leave of him.

It occurred to him one day, about the middle of May, that it would be an excellent thing for him to go out in a boat and inspect the ships that lay anchored a mile or so from the shore. I happened to be on board the "Yuko Maru" at the moment he came alongside. His countenance betokened a vague sort of interest, but nothing like complete approval of the proportions and appointments of that neatly modelled craft. Suddenly, his contiguity not being suspected, a mass of rubbish was sent over the side of the ship, part of which alighted upon his glistening crown. It is impossible to picture the flash of fantastic ferocity that instantly lighted up his grotesque features. He sprang up the side of the vessel, and, not finding the offender close at hand, ran to the captain's room, evidently with a full relation of his wrongs at his tongue's end. The Captain is a devotee to the American game of "solitaire," in the deepest intricacies of which he was absorbed at the moment. The injured Sialiaoan planted himself in a fine attitude at the door and his mouth was already open for the outflow of the torrent of eloquence with which he was charged, when his eyes fell upon the cards. Evidently, he had never seen pasteboard kings and queens before. Here, indeed, was something truly worthy of his admiration. His anger faded as suddenly as it had flamed, and although, so far as I could discern, every lineament remained fixed and unaltered in position, the whole expression of his face was abruptly changed to one of intensest delight. Here, at last, was something to satisfy the longings of his soul—something higher and brighter than Gatling guns, and more thrilling than sweet-potato riots. All his sorrows were forgotten and for half an hour he stood and gazed in silent satisfaction and then retired pensive;—convinced at last, I make little doubt, that the civilization of the West had elements in which even the native of Formosa might find a charm.

There was much difficulty in securing guides for the movement in the

interior on account of the universal dread of the savages felt by the half caste villagers who alone were partially familiar with the mountains, and still greater difficulty in obtaining any satisfactory idea as to distances and the time required to pass from one point to another. These people had no standards of measurement which would meet our requirements. They said that being "outside of China they never had any mandarins here to tell "them what a *li* is." And as they have no reckoning of time except the very simplest and rudest, even the periods of departure could only be conjecturally fixed. The best they could do was to say that such a journey occupied them half a day or a whole day as the case might be, and that, starting from one village after breakfast, another might be reached before dinner. Obviously this was not the sort of foundation upon which a delicate strategetic operation should be based, and for this reason alone, if for no other, any attempt to surround the Botans by a flank movement would have been futile, such operations demanding the most accurate adjustments of time and space. But there was another and perhaps a stronger reason. The Japanese, in spite of their years of study under foreign military instructors, have not yet reached the point of managing an attack that is to any extent complicated. What the causes of this incapacity may be I cannot say. It may be that the configuration of their own country is so little suited, as a rule, to extensive field operations that they do not recognize the value of broad principles of strategy. In almost every other department of science that they have undertaken to master thay have shown an admirable rapidity of acquirement. But in war, as a rule, they have not progressed far beyond the principles laid down by Fritz in the "Grande Duchesse," of striking the enemy as hard as they can, wherever they find him, and crushing him by sheer pluck and resolution. I must say, however, that it is impossible to conceive of greater vigor and more splendid daring than they exhibit, in their own straightforward way, as often as they get the opportunity.

In the extension of their social relations the Japanese would not, after the 25th of May, confine themselves to the inhabitants of the immediate locality in which they were stationed. The intelligence of the visit of Isa and his companions, on that date, was circulated, and several young officers straightway went out—as usual, on their own independent acccount—to his village of Sawali, far in the interior. They reported, on returning, that they had been treated with every consideration, and that they were in no way molested, although dissuaded from proceeding further.

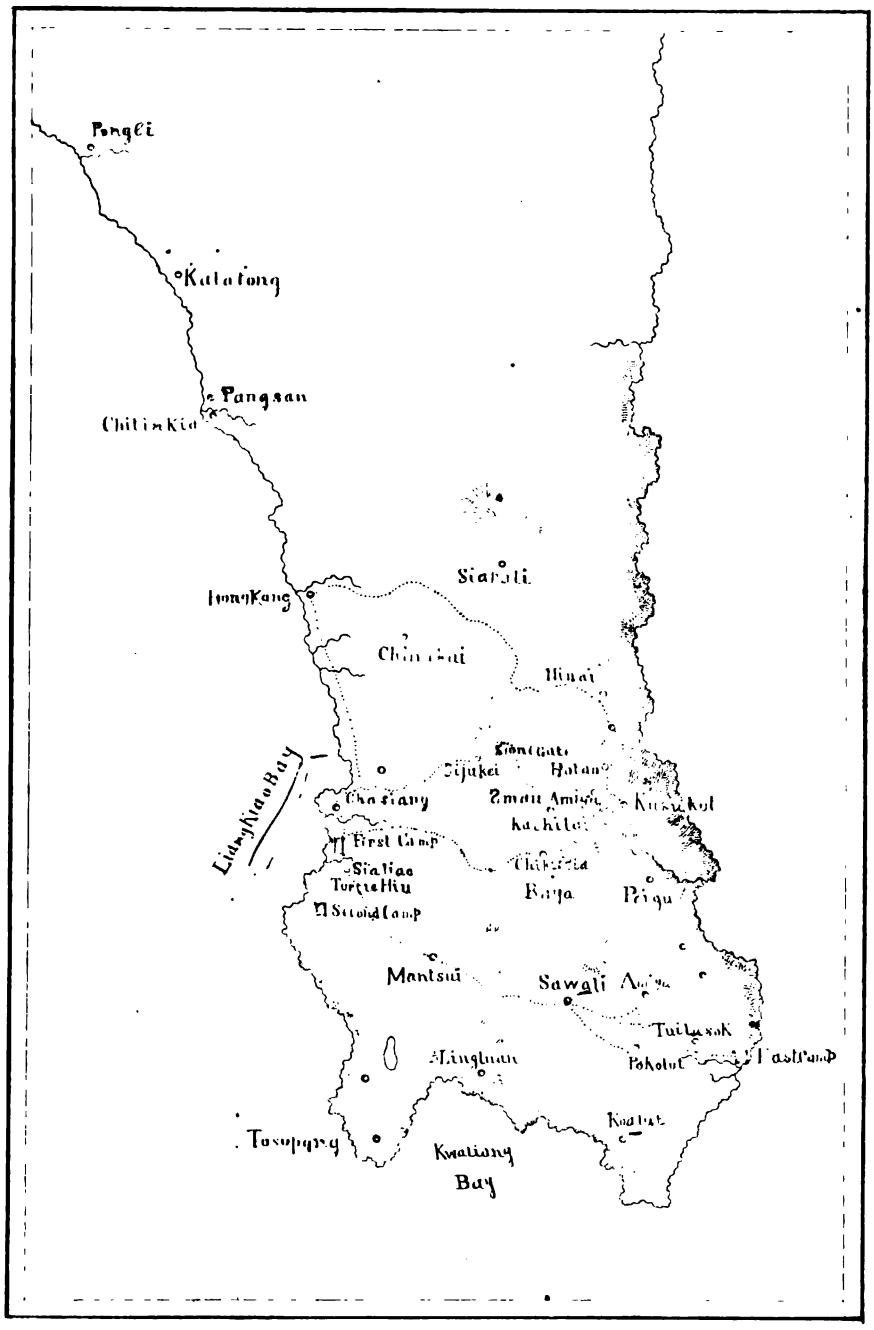
The United States steamship "Monocacy" appeared in the harbor on the morning of May 29th, but sailed away after a few hours without communicating with the shore. The sea was not heavy, and the breeze was far from strong, but it was from the west, and only a single vessel of the Japanese fleet had ventured to remain anchored. All the others steamed off to safer regions as rapidly as possible. The "Monocacy" was, undoubtedly, at one moment in considerable danger—a fact which may serve to indicate the probable perils of Liangkiao Bay in really serious weather. Her visit was intended only for observation, and she brought as a passenger the U. S. Consul for Amoy. On that gentleman's account it is especially to be regretted that no opportunity for landing was afforded. He would have gained a knowledge of the existing state of facts that might have saved him from the commission of serious errors at a later day.

CHAPTER XX.

IMPERFECTION OF MAPS OF FORMOSA—MOVEMENT TO THE INTERIOR—HEAVY ROADS AND DIFFICULT RIVER PASSAGES—SOLDIERS DROWNED—THREE COLUMNS ON THE MARCH—LABORIOUS PROGRESS—CAMPAIGNING IN NIGHT DRESS—APPROACH TO THE STONE GATE.

It is, I presume, understood that there are no authentic maps of Formosa in existence. The southern peninsula, in particular, remains to this day an entirely unknown region excepting to those who have personally visited it. A few attemps have been made to note the prominent features of the country, and even to indicate the localities of some of the villages occupied by the different tribes, but these have been only partially successful. As a matter of fact, not even the outlines of the coast have ever been accurately laid down. These outlines are, indeed, subject to such continual and rapid changes, especially in the neighborhood of river mouths, that no permanent reliance can be placed upon any map, in this particular, however carefully prepared. A few years are often sufficient to alter the character of the coast to an extent which navigators would consider extremely serious. The variations that have been wrought by the action of a couple of centuries are extraordinary. The ancient Dutch fort, Zelandia, for example, was built upon a small island, between which and the body of Formosa a deep channel intervened, in 1630. This channel has now entirely disappeared, and the island, the original Taiwan, the Chinese name of which was afterward applied to the whole region, has ceased, as such, to exist.

The chart compiled by General Le Gendre in 1870, which is commonly accepted as the most authentic extant, does not pretend to absolute preci-


Pongki
Katafong
Pangsan
Chitimkia
Siaoli
Jongkang
Chinchai
Hinai
Liuyhiao Bay
Sijukei
Hatan
Chaotang
Kachilai
First Camp
Siaotao
Chikuta
Baya
Priqu
Second Camp
Mantsui
Sawgali
Tailuzak
Pokolut
Tasitang
Kuatut
Tasupqaq
Kwaiang
Bay

sion with respect to all the details of the region with which the Japanese expedition is identified. I have already endeavored to explain some of the difficulties that lie in the way of forming any acquaintance with the interior, and I am well aware of the hopelessness of any effort at present to give a thoroughly correct idea of the positions of the aboriginal settlements on the eastern coast and in the interior. Nevertheless, for the better understanding of the movements that took place, an attempt is made in the accompanying rough plan, to designate the relative situations of the most important among them, according to such information as could be obtained from the most intelligent of the Chinese-speaking inhabitants. It is merely a suggestion of outline, and of course there can just now be no thought of illustrating the topography of the district.

The expedition to Botan and Kusukut began on the 1st of June, with the departure of about five hundred troops for Hongkang, a settlement some six miles to the north of our own position. On the morning of this day, the rain was still at its heaviest, and there was much doubt as to whether the full plan of operations could be carried out. The current of the swollen rivers was so violent that, at the first ford, one of the Japanese was carried away and drowned. The rest of the force reached Hongkang in the afternoon, without disaster. No encounter with the natives had been anticipated, for the shore is occupied entirely by the descendants of the Chinese colonists, who looked upon the Japanese with perfectly friendly, though somewhat speculative, eyes. The "head-men" of Hongkang had long before come into camp, and urged the officers to make that place a base of operations, as well as Sialiao. Hongkang, it should be understood, is totally independent of China; the practical authority of which empire extends only as far south as Pongli, some twenty-five miles distant.

During the night of the 1st, the rain gradually ceased, and the morning was as bright and clear as any we had seen—too bright and clear for comfort, for the sun blazed out with an intensity which seemed likely to

make rapid compensation for its long irregularities. Soon after dawn, the second party, of about three hundred, started eastward for the "Stone Gate"—the scene of the skirmish of May 22d. The departure of their advance-guard, which took place the afternoon before, was marked by another fatal accident. A soldier was drowned in almost the same place as that of the previous day's mishap. This detachment reached its first point at noon, and remained there, or in the neighborhood, for a few hours.

The third column, numbering four hundred men, left the camp also on the morning of the 2nd, and marched to the south-west toward Chiksia. The general purpose of these combined advances was as follows: The head-quarters of the hostile tribes were known to be Botan and Kusukut. A few tributary settlements in their neighborhood were believed to be held by their men, and it was tolerably well ascertained that the northern roads, as far as Ninai, were in their possession. The duty assigned to the Hongkang force, under General Tani, was to proceed to Ninai, starting before sunrise on the 2nd, and descend as rapidly as possible to Botan. The Chiksia column, under Admiral Akamatsu, was to move upon Kusukut. The central body, which was led by General Saigo, was to pass over the difficult road from the "Stone Gate" to either Kusukut or Botan, as might be desirable. This road, which is, in fact, nothing but the roughest kind of a mountain-pass, was known to be not only full of natural impediments, but also to have been artificially obstructed by the enemy; circumstances which account for the greater length of time allowed for it to reach its destination.

For various reasons, the foreign officers attached to the expedition accompanied the last-named detachment. They went, I believe, as spectators only, with no design of sharing in the more active proceedings that might ensue. I chose that route, chiefly from a desire to examine with some closeness the scene of the conflict of the 22nd of May, which I had become familiar with from only one side. The march, from the out-

set, was such as I almost shrink from even attempting to describe. Before eight o'clock, the sun was at its fiercest, and the hard, stony paths were so heated that the glow could literally be felt through the soles of thick shoes. Fortunately, there were many streams to be forded, and although they were not passed without difficulty, being at least twice their ordinary depth, they were gladly welcomed whenever encountered. Indeed, we should all have been better pleased to find more of them, for though our clothes were of course drenched through and through at each passage, they were dry and stiff before we had fairly started on our way again. This was partly owing to the utter absence of shelter. The greater part of the Liangkiao valley is destitute of trees, and it is only on approaching the mountains that a healthy vegetation is found.

Some of us speedily discovered that campaigning in a savage country has at least the negative advantage of permitting a very free disregard of personal appearance. After the first few miles, the exterior aspect of every one of the trio of observation was such as would have exposed him to popular derision, if not worse, in any trans-Pacific community. I remember that, on entering the village of Sijukei, and coming into the presence of the General-in-Chief, for which meeting I had endeavored to re-adjust myself in some slight degree, I was humorously congratulated by that officer on being able to go to war in my sleeping dress. He spoke but the fact. A suit of thin "pajamas" was all I could possibly support. This, with a straw hat, an umbrella, and a pair of straw sandals, I take to be the proper uniform for a journalist in the tropics. I had learned the value of sandals years before in Japan, but neglected to profit by my old experience, and trusted here to shoes, with pitiable results. The alternate swelling and shrinking, from soaking and sudden drying, was intolerably painful; in addition to which, the sharp stones of the hills tore the leather to rags long before the journey was ended. The Japanese soldiers, in excursions of this kind, wear the close-fitting leg-coverings of their own country, from

the knee to the ancle, and put nothing on the feet but their thick soft sandals, extra pairs of which they carry suspended from their waists.

As we drew near the circle of hills that marks the limits of the valley, the country began to assume a more agreeable character—that is, to the eye alone. The long-continued rains had freshened the verdure, which, moreover, is of a richer development inland than on the coast. As we slowly ascended, we began to pass by patches of wholesome shrubbery, and presently had opportunities to pause and rest, at distant intervals, under Banyan trees of some magnitude. Clusters of willows were occasionally seen by the river sides; but these reliefs were infrequent, and, as a rule, the face of the country still maintained what would elsewhere he considered a rugged barrenness. The first hills that were really covered with trees were those in the neighborhood of and just beyond the "Stone Gate," where the rough and jagged outlines of the scenery are somewhat softened by warmer colors than those of dark rock and gray sand.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE STONE GATE—SKIRMISH OF MAY TWENTY-SECOND REVIEWED—GALLANTRY OF THE JAPANESE—PRIMITIVE BUT EFFECTIVE TACTICS—RELUCTANCE TO ABANDON THE CONTEST—A SCALING PARTY—THE ENEMY PUT TO FLIGHT—NUMBERS OF KILLED AND WOUNDED.

We passed through the gate about noon, and, as I now had the opportunity of examining this natural fortification from all points, I refer once again to that single engagement in which the Japanese forced the Botans from their chosen position, and destroyed with one blow all their hopes of ever meeting them with success. I have heretofore spoken too moderately of the spirit and courage displayed on that occasion. Not having seen the commencement of the work, and not knowing the ground which the enemy occupied, I could not rightly estimate the difficulties to be overcome or the resolution required to surmount them. I am now persuaded that the taking of the "Stone Gate" by our handful of men—there were not more than forty actually employed, although about one hundred and seventy-five were near at hand—even against its unskilled defenders, was an act of gallantry which any soldiers in the world might justly be proud of. The situation held by the Botans appears as nearly impregnable as any stronghold possibly can be. The sides of the "Stone Gate" are two rocky acclivities which rise at sharp angles, and often perpendicularly, to a height of nearly five hundred feet on one side and four hundred and fifty on the other. The distance between them, at the base, is about thirty feet, which is entirely filled by a rapid stream that dashes in foam over rough rocks through the greater length of the pass, and is waist deep

at its only fordable point. Except under pressure of the most desperate necessity, no one would ever dream of attempting to scale these heights; and in fact no earthly power could accomplish such a task if any attempt, however feeble, were made to defend them. The crag of the right hand pillar is topped by sharp spires not unlike the needles of the Chamouni valley in form—though of course much smaller—and certainly as forbidding in their defiance to intruders. But over this barrier a score of Japanese marines did actually pass, with the view of assailing the savages from above.

Before the action really began, a few shots were fired at the advancing line from a rude fortification that had been thrown up just within the right side of the gate—that is, to the left of the besiegers. Whether this was intended only as an outpost, or not, I cannot say, but it was hurriedly abandoned on the approach of three of the unattached volunteers of whom I have spoken, who took possession of it and remained there for some time, quite unconscious that the enemy were lying concealed behind rocks and trees within a few yards of them. It did not suit the purposes of the Botans to destroy them, which they might easily have done, their plan being to lie in wait for a greater number of victims. In course of time, some twenty-five other Japanese came into the pass,—carelessly and without precaution, as is their injudicious custom—and began looking about for the ford. When they were all exposed, and for the moment defenceless, they were fired upon from a distance of certainly not more than forty feet, and in some cases less. By this first discharge two or three of the Japanese were killed, and more than half of them were wounded. They immediately sought such concealment as they could find among the rocks which are scattered over the bed of the river. The Botans held a tolerably regular line of boulders, which creates a sort of fall or rapid just above the ford; and thus, for several minutes, the opposing forces silently confronted each other. As nearly as I could learn, by close

inquiry from natives and others, there were about seventy savages present. Of course the strength of their position gave them advantages equivalent to an infinitely greater superiority of numbers.

After the few inactive moments of which I have spoken, other Japanese began to enter the pass and establish themselves, and, at the same time, some of the wounded endeavored to retire. This was the signal for a second discharge from the Botans. But, in rising to fire, they partially uncovered their bodies, which was at once taken advantage of by the Japanese, who threw in an effective volley, under cover of which some succeeded in shifting their position to points a little nearer the enemy. This manœuvre was several times repeated, a soldier rising purposely, in case of need, to draw the fire of the defenders. By these means all the Japanese gradually worked themselves closer, but the progress was so slow and the number of the wounded increased to such an extent that the officer in command, Colonel Sakuma, ordered the bugles to sound a recall. Nobody could misconstrue such a command, coming from Sakuma, his reputation for bravery in action having been long ago established, but as the greatest of English sailors was once blind to a signal for retreat, so these ardent pioneers were deaf to this unwelcome strain. Not to put too fine a point upon it, I suppose I must admit that they disobeyed orders; but I have not learned that anybody has since greatly blamed them for it. I afterward heard one of these contumacious warriors, when called upon to give his reason for not returning, say that it would have been more dangerous to go back than to advance, and that mere prudence would have kept him where he was. He was reminded, however, that he had been seen to leave his place, rejoin the main body, and then return to the fighting ground; to which he answered, with some embarrassment, that it was true, but he had been compelled to do as he did, as he had a wounded comrade who had been shot, just beside him, in the arm and the stomach, to assist to the rear.

Thus irregularly, and with no directions except those suggested by their own minds to the participators, the contest went on for nearly an hour, the Japanese steadily, though very slowly, getting nearer their opponents. It might be supposed that a sudden rush would have put an end to the business, as indeed it would have done on dry land, in anything like a fair field. But here the soldiers were up to their waists in a stream, the current of which was so powerful that they could only with great effort force their way against it. The best and only thing they could do was to watch their opportunity and creep from behind one rock to another. At length, Colonel Sakuma conceived the idea that a small body of riflemen might ascend the cliff, to his left, and assist in dislodging the savages by firing upon them from that commanding height. About twenty marines started upon this errand, and, after a severe struggle, reached the summit. Their task was undoubtedly the most laborious of the day. It was not only difficult, but dangerous as well, for no previous attempt had ever been made to effect a passage, and the whole acclivity was in its primitive condition of unbroken irregularity. From the bottom, many parts of it looked like sections of smooth and polished stone, affording no hold for feet or hands. As they worked their way upward, the scaling party seemed to be clinging and crawling by the aid of some insect-like property of adhesion, and not by human efforts; and the possibility of their accomplishing the work was often doubted by those who watched them. At last, after many disappearances in chasms and crevices, or behind concealing masses of rock, they sprang upon the topmost ledge with gestures of triumph and shouts that, though only faintly heard, were vigorously echoed in the valley. By this time the Botans were closely pressed from below. Some of the attacking party had approached so near them that their boulders no longer afforded them a secure protection. One or two had already turned and fled when the marines appeared over their heads. That sight decided the matter. They broke in a body, and made for the river-

banks, leaving sixteen of their number dead behind them. Of those who escaped, fourteen were mortally wounded—among them, as has previously been stated, the leader of the Botan tribe. Of the number of less severely wounded we never had any account. Our own casualties were six killed and thirty wounded, all but one of the latter of whom recovered.

Such was the gallant little skirmish of "Stone Gate," a complete understanding of the difficulties of which cannot be conveyed by words. The place was afterward photographed, and a clearer idea of its massive strength is thus imparted. That it was a brilliant affair for the Japanese is doubly fortunate, for they had no second opportunity of thus distinguishing themselves. The savages were taught enough, in that single lesson, to keep them from attempting to squarely confront the conquerors thereafter.

CHAPTER XXII.

FORDING AT THE STONE GATE—PERSONAL REMINISCENCES—THOUGHTFULNESS OF JAPANESE OFFICERS—A SINGULAR DISCOVERY—GRAVES OF THE MURDERED RIU KIUANS—FATIGUES OF MOUNTAIN CLIMBING—DISTANT SKIRMISHES—FORMIDABLE BARRICADES—THE ADVANCE INTERRUPTED—A NIGHT IN A CHEVEUX DE FRISE—FINE BEHAVIOR OF THE SOLDIERS.

THE passage of the "Stone Gate" was not without its hardships, even when no enemy was at hand to dispute the way. The ford was still somewhat hazardous, and a number of men had lost their foothold while attempting to cross, and had been swept down stream,—happily without serious consequences. This had happened before our arrival, and I was therefore surprised to see numbers of officers clambering over an improvised path among the rocks of the left side of the gate—the right as we faced up the stream. It seemed the correct thing to do, and I therefore followed, as often on hands and knees as on feet, but discovered, after having gone half way, that it was certainly impracticable for me. So I returned, waded the river at one point, and pushed up to the recrossing ford. I had steadied myself half way over, and was filled with self-congratulation, when my attention was attracted by a singular retrogressive movement on the part of the staff, which I paused to contemplate from a half submerged standpoint. Presently the General-in-Chief descended the hill which he had just climbed, and gave rapid orders, in consequence of which "coolies" came out, like skirmishers, into the river, and an officer of the quarter-master's department, wearing nothing but a benevolent smile, planted himself in what appeared to me a uselessly uncomfortable and exposed position in

the midst of the current. The whole proceeding was utterly obscure, but I saw myself beckoned and recognized the impossibility of waiting to investigate it. So I moved forward, and after three strides found myself in water so deep and so rapid that no strength of mine could stem it for an instant. Before I had time to think, I was in the arms of a stalwart "coolie," who straightway passed me on to another, and so following until the master of transporation at last lifted me to firm ground. Then I became aware that the operation in question was one in which I was chiefly concerned; that all this strategetic disposition of interfluvial pickets was to preserve me from discomfort, and that the commander of our forces had gone far out of his way to personally superintend the rescue of a stranger who had no conceivable claim upon his attention. The incident was almost too slight to be worth narrating, but I cannot look upon anything as altogether trifling that helps to illustrate the thoughtful kindliness of these instinctively warm-hearted people.

Beyond "Stone Gate," the course of the river, which I take to be that which empties into Liaugkiao Bay north of Sialiao, runs for nearly a mile through a narrow plain. Our road carried us over about half that distance, after which we turned to the left and began an abrupt ascent. In the level space below we had passed through several deserted villages, belonging, not to the savages, whose territory is farther inland, but to half-castes, or to people of Chinese descent. In one of these a remarkable discovery was made—nothing less than the actual graves of the very Riu Kiuans whose murder the Japanese were here to avenge. It struck me as a most surprising coincidence that here, upon the threshold of the entrance to the Botan country, the troops should be thus strikingly reminded of the cause of their coming. It was a circumstance so totally outside of all expectation that it seemed incredible. The Miyako islanders had been cast ashore upon the opposite coast, seven or eight miles away in a direct line, and probably twice as many by the mountain paths. But the inscriptions, which were

explicit, left no doubt upon the subject, and abundant confirmation was obtained by subsequent inquiries. The explanation of the mystery—if the intelligence which I had from the Liangkiao people was trustworthy—was, that the wrecked party, on falling into the hands of the Botans, were mistaken for Chinese, and were brought across the peninsula to the nearest Chinese-speaking inhabitants, not from motives of humanity but in the hope of getting a reward; that the Chinamen did not recognize the castaways and refused to ransom them; that they were then told that unless they paid one hundred dollars the sailors should be killed on the spot; to which they answered that they did not care, and, according to one story, were ready to assist in the slaughter. It was even stated by some that they did join in the wholesale work of destruction. It is impossible to say to what extent these reports were to be trusted, but they were not in themselves unreasonable, and the undoubted fact that the remains of the murdered men were on the spot in question gave a certain weight to them.

At three o'clock in the afternoon the laborious mountain climbing began. We had forded a dozen or more streams before we came to a ledge of rock which had to be scaled in genuine Alpine fashion—to walk up it would have been as impossible as to dance a fandango on a Mansart roof—and which marked the entrance to the real Botan and Kusukut possessions. I do not know that any purpose could be served by describing in detail the fatigues of the successive ascents. An idea of their general character may be taken from the fact that a steady upward march of four hours—that is, until sundown, carried us only three miles. At five o'clock we passed over a lofty ridge, overlooking a deep valley, on the other side of which puffs of smoke were seen rising, volleys of musketry being heard at the same time. We had no means of knowing exactly to whom to attribute these demonstrations, but it was obvious enough that some of our friends were concerned in them. Soon after this, we came upon the first

of the barricades which the savages had roughly constructed—mainly by felling trees and interlacing their boughs. It was not very difficult to pass through, but if it had been defended, as I suppose there must have been at one time an intention of defending it, the advance would have become an extremely serious matter from that moment. Other obstructions, similar in kind, but far more complicated, followed it in rapid succession.

Up to this point, the soldiers had marched, necessarily, in single file, but with great alacrity and perseverance. Here, however, they began to slacken a little. According to all previous calculations we should have reached Botan long before sundown, but now night was falling and we were in the midst of the mountains, surrounded by a stunted wilderness, and with no knowledge of our whereabouts, beyond the general fact that we were somewhere in the heart of Southern Formosa. Finally, close upon seven o'clock, we were confronted by a maze of barricades, compared with which those that had preceded were like the windings of a pleasure ground. The largest trees I had seen on the island, Banyans and others, were thrown across the path, in such tangled profusion that to pierce through them was an impossible task. It was the work of almost half an hour to clamber over a single pile of these obstructions, and one was no sooner surmounted than another rose to renew the opposition to our progress. Some efforts were made to cut a way through, but this was entirely impracticable at that hour, and so the exhausted soldiers sat themselves down on such bare spots as they could find, without food or water, to sleep in the centre of an abattis. I doubt if a stranger bivouac has ever been heard of. Most of them—probably all of them were miserable enough, but, in spite of their discomforts, not a sound of complaint was heard from any source. If they had been surrounded by every luxury they could not have been more cheerful or in brighter humor. Here is the real discipline of the Japanese soldier—that which he himself exercises over his own temper, and which enables him, like his countrymen generally,

to show high qualities of endurance and fortitude, not alone in danger, to which he is constitutionally indifferent, but on occasions of personal distress or of grave anxiety and suspense such as few Western people can meet with equanimity. He is very far from a finished soldier, according to our strict notions of routine and drill, and in times of peace he has his favorite faults, which foreigners are quick to descry and exaggerate, but in his self-denying patience and his ready, hearty, willing spirit, he is often a hero even more than in the reckless daring of his actions.

CHAPTER XXIII.

RELIEF AT HAND—THE WATCHES OF THE NIGHT—FEAST OF SWEET POTATOS —AN AMIYA VILLAGE—THE INFERIOR RACE—CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION OF BOTAN AND KUSUKUT—THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN DETACHMENTS ASTRAY—REUNION OF GENERAL OFFICERS—A DAY IN THE MOUNTAINS—RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION—RETURN TO LIANGKIAO—A PAINFUL MARCH —JAPANESE COURTESY.

By a curious and sufficiently vexatious fatality, it happened that the point at which we all gave out—or gave in—was only a quarter of a mile from a village in which water was abundant, and plenty of food, in the form of sweet potatos, could be had by digging for it. General Saigo and a few companions only reached this favored spot. About eight o'clock he passed to the head of the line, and, as he is a man of powerful frame and less sensitive to fatigue than most others, he made his way onward, supposing that the rest would follow. I do not believe that the General was wholly insensible to the hardships of the situation, for I have heard a legend to the effect that his hunger was so great that he furtively dug potatos from the field with his own hands, and devoured them raw. However, he was in better condition than his followers, and he sat wondering why he was not joined by others, until he fell asleep. I suppose if they had known what was awaiting them, the whole body would have revived and nullified that quarter of a mile in the briefest possible time. As it was, they passed a night of restless tribulation.

The weather was fortunately clear, though the atmosphere was very chilly, as it always is on the mountains after dark. Sleep was invoked

by every expedient that weariness and exhaustion could inspire, but was not quick to respond. It is a simple fact that for a long time hardly a square foot of ground could be found unencumbered with sharp stakes or twisted boughs. The line of march which had been checked was about a quarter of a mile long, and it chanced at this place to stretch over a narrow ridge which had until recently been thickly crowded with the trees that were now lying in intricate confusion around. The descent on each side was too abrupt to be risked, even if any had cared to stray away, in search of better quarters, in that unknown and hostile country. It must be admitted, too, that there was no attempt that night, to institute the customary precautions against surprises. No pickets were thrown out, and not even a guard was set. A few voluntary watchers provided all that seemed to be needed, or at least all that was supplied, in this respect. At midnight, the scene, dimly lifted from obscurity by the faint moonlight, was full of strange and weird suggestions. The attitudes of the soldiers were such as one may see depicted in Doré's "Sleeping Beauty" scenes, where unconsciousness has seized each figure in the most unnatural position for repose. They leaned against the stumps of trees, crouched among brambles, knelt or folded themselves in slender apertures, but seldom had the chance to lie at even partial length. The Japanese can rest in postures which to us of the West are incompatible with comfort, not to say endurance; and we, the people of America, could not long resist the temptation to seek a more tolerable place of accommodation, at whatever cost. We found one at the very summit of the ridge, on a spot which we then erroneously supposed was in advance of any occupied by others. Here were a couple of square yards of stony and billowy but otherwise undeformed earth. Now we could recline, but not altogether at ease, for we believed the position to be peculiarly exposed and felt the necessity for especial watchfulness. Gradually the stars twinkled less brightly, the cold became less keen, and the sense of hardships died away. Formosa, fatigue, the sharp stones and

ugly undulations of our bed began to fade from the mind. In a moment we should have been dreaming, when a stealthy step was heard in front of us, bushes crackled, the network of boughs was pushed aside and a dusky form drew near. We were in the midst of sharp realities again. Here, perhaps, was worse than a superterraneous couch and temporary cold. But the vision proved a beneficent one. It was one of our own officers, who had constituted himself a reconnoitring force for the good of the community. He smiled, sat beside us and chatted, and, oh!—rapture to those who had learned the luxury comprised in a few ounces of rolled tobacco, produced a couple of cigars with which he was prepared to change the gloom and horror of the night to momentary bliss. Alas, I did not smoke. The magic of that transformation was denied to me. My companions sat, and puffed, and murmured, and uplifted their eyes in silent ecstasy, and sometimes turned compassionate glances toward me. There were no hunger, thirst or pain for them. In that hour, and upon the top of an inhospitable knoll in the centre of savage Formosa, I made a resolution which, in its application, embraced the everlasting future. It was adhered to for two days, that is to say, until the occasion which gave it birth had passed away. But I nevertheless shall always cherish a theoretical envy of the smoker, though I may not practically emulate him.

The morning was again painfully bright, threatening another oppressive day. It was still a laborious work to overcome the remaining barricades, but, that being accomplished, the way was clear to the village I have mentioned. There we were at ease, at least so far as the satisfaction of our appetites was concerned. A dozen fires were kindled, and bushels of potatos were dug, cooked and eaten, before any questions as to where we might be were thought of. And when we found time to ask them they could not be answered. There was not a living thing in the place except a dog, a sow with a litter, and two or three chickens. Our guides from the coast settlements were completely at a loss. If they knew the region at all they were

very imperfectly acquainted with it. But they seemed confident that it was neither Botan nor Kusukut. I learned, later, that it was called Amiya, from the people that inhabited it, and was said to be a small dependency of Loput, though situated at considerable distance therefrom. It lies half way between the two savage strongholds, less than a mile from each, and yet, strangely enough, is said to partake of none of the fierce characteristics of those places. I have been assured that the Amiyas, who are looked upon as belonging to an inferior race, and are distributed in various parts of the southern peninsula, are suffered to exist among the savages solely in consequence of their weakness. They are not formidable enough to excite jealousy, and they are compelled to perform a great many menial services for their exacting neighbors.* I had already met their chief several times. He was an amusing old fellow, and looked as harmless as a sheep. His ears were not bored, and he spoke Chinese, which facts were just a little to his advantage, at the outset. In all general discussions he seemed to be principally occupied in remonstrating with the "head-"men" of the savages, and urging a pacific policy upon them in a shrill treble. I am inclined to believe that sufferance, and not intolerance, is the badge of his tribe. If he had been at Amiya to give us a little information I should have liked him still better.

This village commands a view of the sea toward the west, through a series of clefts in the mountains. Without any positive or certain means of estimating, I judge it to be about seven miles from the western coast, in a direct line, and five miles from the eastern, and between two and three thousand feet above the ocean level. It is a place of little importance, containing only a dozen houses, which are all constructed on one simple principle—eight posts are set in the ground, thin straw is plaited over them and a fragile upper frame supports a thatched roof. In some of these we

* General Legendre estimated the number of male Amiyas at two hundred and forty-five, in 1867.

found packages of dried tobacco, rather neatly prepared, from which, as well as from the presence of the pigs and chickens, it is probable that the evacuation was very hasty, and perhaps was not contemplated at all by the residents, but was forced by the Botans. In the neighboring fields there was no sign of cultivation, excepting of tobacco and sweet potatos. The rice, what was used of it, must have been grown at some little distance.

After a hasty breakfast, two small parties, of about sixty men each, were sent out to reconnoitre in opposite directions—north and south. The first, in the course of an hour, reached a large village, consisting of forty or fifty houses built of sun-dried brick and stone, with thatched roofs, which was soon discovered to be Botan. This place, at least, the guides had means of recognizing. It appeared to be wholly deserted, but nevertheless, as our soldiers drew near, a number of shots was fired upon them from hills and thickets, and two or three were slightly wounded. A volley in return, though discharged at random, silenced the unseen assailants. The place was then burned, and the troops encamped in its immediate vicinity.

The southern detachment had not proceeded far before it was met by messengers from the column commanded by Admiral Akamatsu, which had been on the march, in various directions, during the greater part of the night. This force had reached Kusukut at two o'clock on the afternoon of the 2nd, and, on attempting to enter it, was received, as usual, by a sudden fire from an ambuscade. Three Japanese were killed and two were wounded. The savages were speedily driven from their position, but probably with little or no loss. The houses of Kusukut were destroyed and, as the situation was untenable, being easily commanded by a circle of hills, a camp was established on an elevation about an eighth of a mile distant. At five o'clock, the bulk of the column started forth with the view of joining General Saîgo, but the roads soon became difficult and the guides were at odds, the result of which was that, after travelling

until the next morning, the Admiral found himself close to the "Stone "Gate." From this point he turned and followed the course of the central body, arriving at Amiya about noon.

Up to this time nothing had been heard from the Hongkang party, which was to have started for the interior before dawn on the 2nd. Small squads were sent out by various northern pathways to get news of it if possible, and also to hold or burn all deserted villages that might be identified with the Botan or Kusukut interests. The latter part of this work was carried out, but no traces of General Tani's troops were discovered. Messengers who came in from Sialiao, in the afternoon, were equally ignorant. It was therfore determined to pass another night at Amiya, and await further developments. A partial supply of food had been brought up, and, what was more astonishing, considering the character of the roads, a few tents and a small cohoorn mortar. This last was put to use for making signals to the absent column. Several shells were burst in the air, but no response was given until nightfall, when half a dozen soldiers came in, bringing a report that the long road from Ninai to Botan was so nearly impracticable that several days might be required to force a way through. General Tani had not been able to reach Ninai until the evening of the 2nd. His men, also, had been attacked, but without serious results. They found only a woman and a child in the village, whom they detained with the intention of using them as guides the next day—but the woman escaped, and the child was too young to be of service. The General decided to send the greater part of his force immediately to the "Stone Gate," there to await further orders, and to set a small body to the work of clearing the direct path to the centre of the savage region.

The night of the 3rd passed quietly, and, early on the morning of the 4th, General Tani arrived. Upon consultation, it was now determined that, all the savage villages of the interior having been seized and destroyed, and the inhabitants driven into the mountains, sufficient detach-

ments should be left to guard the abandoned stations and to control the principal points of the roadways, while the main body should return to Sialiao, to prepare for further operations on the eastern coast, where the Botans were believed to be upon terms of alliance with one or two settlements, especially with Peigu. This decision, when communicated, was received with customary acquiescence by all excepting the Satsuma men, who petitioned for the privilege of undertaking a little war of extermination on their own plan, which was, to scour the wilderness in parties of two or three, and hunt for the savages until they should be found and put an end to. This proposal not appearing to be dictated by the profoundest wisdom, was negatived, and the return march began at nine o'clock. Most of the heavy barricades had been cleared away by a gang of laborers, acting under Hirano, an energetic and industrious quartermaster of the expedition, and the path was comparatively free, although still full of difficulties enough to send the majority of us into camp almost broken down with fatigue and exhaustion.

The last two or three miles were as bitter as any I ever passed over, but I was happily stimulated, at the most depressing point, by a charming little trait of kindness and good feeling. Several wounded soldiers were carried by me in litters, most of them lying at full length and speechless. One, however, was sitting upright, his injuries being such as to make that position the least painful to him. His arm was shattered and the flesh of his breast was torn away. Seeing that I was limping along with an extremely awkward gait, he stopped his carriers and asked what was the matter. I told him that my feet had been bruised and cut, whereupon he insisted that I should throw away my useless shoes and take his cloth socks and sandals. "You see," he said, "I have no use for them now." This was from a man who, while suffering from two dreadful wounds, spoke in the brightest tone, and smiled as cheefully when he spoke as if he had lain on a bed of roses. For a few moments, certainly as long as

he was in sight, I strode erect, and forgot that I had ever felt a smart.

This amiable solicitude for the comfort of those whom they thought were less capable of enduring hardships than themselves was constantly exhibited by everybody around. I have mentioned how General Saigo conducted a little operation for my benefit, on the outward march. Coming in, he placed me under a new obligation, by offering to have a palanquin put together for me. In truth I was hardly able to stand, but I could not acknowledge myself beaten, and so declined. On the night which we passed in the middle of a barricade, Colonel Sakuma, who never gave a thought to his own hunger, took it into his generous mind that the Americans could not be expected to stand that sort of thing, and sent back to a village a couple of miles distant, for a bundle of biscuit and some claret, which he laid before us just as we were trying in vain to get to sleep. And I can candidly say that not a day passed without evidences of a delicate courtesy and thoughtfulness on all sides such as I think are not often found in close alliance with the rigors of rough campaigning. At the same time it was all so natural with the Japanese that I dare say not one of them would exactly understand the impulse which irresistibly compels me to record it.

CHAPTER XXIV.

REST AND REFRESHMENT—RESULTS ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED—THIRD INTERVIEW WITH ABORIGINAL CHIEFS—A FORMOSAN WEDDING—MARRIAGE CEREMONIES AND FESTIVITIES—VISIT OF SAVAGE LEADERS TO THE ENCAMPMENT—ISA IMPROVES THE SITUATION.

For several days after returning to camp, the troops rested and refreshed themselves. It was evident that no further general movement would be necessary for some time to come. Much more had been accomplished, in a single month, than had been actually laid out for the entire work of half a year. The plans agreed upon in Tokio never contemplated an advance into the interior during the summer. In the prevailing ignorance as to the intentions and resources of the hostile tribes, it had been thought prudent to occupy the first few months in establishing a fortified camp upon the coast, and forming advantageous relations with such of the aborigines as seemed well-disposed. It was also believed that the excessive heat would incapacitate the men from active operations. But these precautions, though undoubtedly judiciously devised, all proved needless. After the first week, it became obvious that no attacks would be attempted by the savages, and the line of earth-works was left in a half-finished condition. The skirmish of May 22nd, although brought about by unexpected circumstances, showed the utter inability of the Botan warriors to make a stand against the Japanese, and moreover produced a restless excitement that could not have been easily allayed in any other way than by sanctioning a general advance. The heat, although much greater during the day-time than in any part of Japan, was found to be not absolutely intolerable, partly owing to the re-

lief afforded by the cool nights. The expediency of departing from the original purpose could not now be questioned. The greater part of the task of punishing the Botans and their companions, and teaching them the penalty of murdering inoffensive castaways, was already effected.

When the Chinese officials were in Liangkiao, on the 22d of May, they expressed abundant sympathy with the purposes of the expedition, but politely doubted its efficacy. They said their own government had some time before undertaken the subjugation of the savages, in a war which had lasted over a dozen years, and had then abandoned the enterprise as hopeless. It is clear enough that the Botans believed themselves invincible, and all their neighbors looked with an incredulity that was hardly disguised, upon the pretension of penetrating their hitherto inaccessible mountain wilds. But, in less than thirty days from the time of disembarking, the chief strongholds and most of the tributary villages of the aggressive tribes were in ashes, the inhabitants scattered in the hills, and their lands in possession of the enemy they had defied. It is true that none of these events would have taken place but for the haste of the savages to attack the Japanese, long before any attempt had been made to approach their territory. Apart from the original claim for retaliation—on account of the slaughter of the Riu Kiu islanders,—the first and the repeated provocations came from the Botans. Then the exaction of redress became inevitable; and, since it had to be done, it was well it was done quickly. It is nevertheless true, that if they had offered any sign of repentance before the march of the first days of June began, hostilities would have been stayed, and a pacific means of settling all the questions at issue would have been adopted. It would have been necessary for them only to give reasonable guarantee for their good behavior in future, and to accede to such terms as would supply a safeguard against an infraction of faith on their part, to escape the heavy inflictions that befell them.

A considerable amount of work yet remained to be done, in a military

way, but it was such as could be carried out by small detachments, in various localities. With a view to establishing posts on the eastern coast, and thus completely encircling the dispersed fugitives, a third conference with the "head-men" of the friendly tribes was arranged. The interpreter Johnson and the guide Miya were sent to summon them on the 6th of June. On the evening of the 8th they came to Sialiao, accompanied by about two hundred armed men—a circumstance which showed that some of them, at least, had not freed themselves from apprehension as to the intentions of the Japanese toward them. They were advised by Johnson, before our officers were notified of their arrival, to send their retinue back to the hills, which, after some hesitation, they wisely concluded to do. If they had kept them, the presence of so large a body must have become known to the soldiers generally, and it would have been difficult to explain their proximity to the camp in time to avert probable mischief. After they had gone, the chiefs expressed great anxiety to have their interview at once, to get it over as speedily as possible, and to start off for their homes before daylight. The preceding meeting had been held at night, and they found that an excellent and most suitable precedent to be followed forever. This was not, however, the view of the Japanese officers, who had little fancy for nocturnal excursions of the sort, and the visitors were requested to wait until morning. They did so, although with great reluctance; many of them remaining awake and keeping watch all night.

It is possible that the festivities in which the people of Sialiao were just then engaged had something to do with their wakefulness. For two or three days, the house of Miya had been (and still was) the centre of a wedding celebration of some importance. A grandson of the aged "head-man," and nephew of Miya, was the bridegroom. The bride was a daughter of one of the subjects of Isa, and was a native of Sawali. This custom of intermarriage between the two races—the Malay-like inhabitants of the interior and the Chinese of the coast—is not uncommon. I was told,

indeed, that the women of all tribes are allowed to circulate freely in every part of the peninsula, even where no mutual intercourse is carried on among the men. If this mixture of blood has been of long continuance, it is surprising that so much distrust and hatred exist between the opposite branches of the population, and hardly less remarkable that each should still preserve such widely different peculiarities of appearance, habits and individual character. The savages have nothing whatever of the Chinaman in their exterior aspect, and their ways of life are totally separate. The divergence of their disposition is most strikingly shown in the contrast between the insatiate greed of the West Coast people and the indifference to gain of the mountaineers. In spite of the cruelty, ferocity, and ignorance of the latter, and notwithstanding the superior approach to civilization of the Chinese-speaking community, it is impossible not to recognize the higher average of natural qualities in the ruder race. They are open in the avowal of the enmity which the Chinese secretly and craftily cherish; and they are respectable, in the fact that their pledges are to some extent trustworthy. What they promise, they adhere to with reasonable fidelity. As regards intermarriage, I am inclined to believe that, while the coast men often seek wives in the interior, the savages prefer to mate among themselves. When they allow their daughters to form outside alliances, the fathers receive what they regard as sufficient pecuniary equivalents.

Feeling some curiosity in the matter of this wedding jubilee—which could not well be satisfied before without offending the prejudices of the natives, who do not like to have their social mysteries too closely scrutinized—I walked over to Sialiao at an earlier hour than that fixed for the interview. The premises bore signs of a somewhat late agitation, the night before, and most of the jubilants were asleep. The street in front of Miya's house was covered by an awning, stretched from his roof to that of the building opposite, and the avenues of approach, from all directions, were guarded by little tables on which religious emblems were placed. In

front of the large shrine within doors, two enormous candles of red tallow were still burning. The interior court-yard, like the street without, was covered with canvas, and all the space usually left open was filled with tables, upon which lay the *débris* of a profuse supper. A variety of more or less musical instruments—gongs, cymbals, drums, and Chinese flutes and violins—showed that the coarser delights of the entertainment had been chastened by the refinements of art. As the banquet-halls were deserted, so, as a matter of course, were the tones of these savage-breast-soothing implements hushed. The sleeping chambers, however, were well filled, and from them issued sonorous choral strains, chiefly nasal. The visitors from the mountains were wide awake and on the alert, but most of the people of the locality were deep in dreams.

In the course of half an hour they awoke in a body, one might say, and simultaneously sought breakfast, which a few of the women had prepared in the out-houses. The presence of the savage "head-men" was evidently a restraint upon them, and the venerable Miya *père* more than once took Johnson aside to enquire when the business of the day would be over and their unwelcome guests gone. I, personally, was an object of distrust and suspicion, owing to an unfounded apprehension that I was bent on seeing the bride; but when that illusion was dispelled, and the conviction gained ground that I was careless in the matter, I was urged by everybody to go in and "interview" her. So, indeed, I did, in a brief and imperfect fashion. She was in the best chamber of the house, seated upon the edge of the bed, which was occupied by two sleeping matrons of the household. The period of undivided wedded life had not yet arrived, and the bridegroom was not suffered to approach the apartment in which his future companion was secluded. Him I saw hovering at a distance, dressed in white, and otherwise conspicuous by an excessively depressed demeanor. The young woman was also in white, with an amazing head-dress, consisting a circle of silver, from which long tassel-like ornaments of

crystal and polished metal hung down for several inches, so thickly that it was difficult to discern a feature of her countenance. Presently, as I was sitting opposite her, she rose and brought me a tray containing sweetmeats, bending over, and revealing her face as she presented it. It was not startling enough in its beauty to warrant a pilgrimage to Sawali in search of kindred charms. But it was fresh and good-humored in expression, and very well suited the buxom figure to which it belonged, and was without the lines of tattooing on the cheek which are said to distinguish the majority of the Formosan fair.

The chiefs had finished their breakfast before the arrival of the Japanese officers, who had been detained by a visit from two headmen that had chosen the wise course of going independently and directly to General Saigo, with a statement which they desired to make on behalf of their people. These were the leaders of Kuchilai and Kaotan. Their purpose was to declare that no violence toward the Japanese had been meditated or executed by them, and to ask that they should be protected from molestation. They were well received, and promised that proper enquiry should be made and every consideration given to their case.

The general conference did not occupy much time. The principal business on hand was the distribution of the protecting flags that had been promised; by displaying which the natives were to guard themselves against unfriendly visitations. These were received by Isa of Sawali, Kalutoi of Mantsui, Sinjio of Pakolut, Lulin of Loput, Pinali of Lingluan, Minat of Tuilasok and a representative of the Koalut leader. The Koalut chief himself was still shy of appearing while a cloud hung over his reputation, and even his messenger was timid and reserved. The question then arose as to the temporary occupancy of a piece of land on the eastern shore, as an additional point of departure against the hostile tribes, in case they should long maintain their defiant attitude. This proposal was evidently not an agreeable one, but it was acceded to, after some discussion, without

embarrassing conditions of any sort. Offers of payment were made, but the chiefs declined compensation, with the carelessness to gain which I have spoken of as characteristic of them. They were finally invited to walk over to the camp and visit the general's tent—a suggestion which almost threw them into a panic. It was plain that they placed very little confidence, up to this time, in the fair intentions of those with whom they were dealing. They endeavored to conceal their perturbation, and gave as a reason for refusing that they had already remained over night away from their villages, which was an unprecedented abandonment of their usages, and that they were anxious to get home as soon as possible, to allay the apprehensions of their people. Hints of the presents that were awaiting them at head-quarters did not affect their resolution, and it seemed impossible to move them, when suddenly Isa, stirred by what impulse I cannot imagine, unless it may have been the recollection of having made a promise at the time of his last visit, announced that he would go. Most of the others then assented, and a hesitating, undecided, and timorous line of march was taken up toward the Japanese station. The readiest of the party was Sinjio of Pakolut, who kept well ahead, and, if he did not feel perfectly at ease, preserved the appearance of being entirely so. The gentleman from Koalut, however, was in great trepidation, and not only hung back from the start, but tried to conceal himself behind the houses and in the doorways of Sialiao and clearly believed himself in the awkwardest scrape of his life. It required a profusion of encouraging gestures to get him into the boat to cross the river, and when he was there, although he preserved his muscular composure, his eyes rolled wildly, and the perspiration ran from him in streams. After reaching the general's tent, they all manifested the same eagerness to get away; they would wait for no refreshment, and stayed only long enough to glance at the Gatling guns,* (which they begged might not be

* The interpreter, Johnson, it was afterward found, had inspired them with a lively apprehension in regard to these particular weapons. Being questioned as to their properties,

fired), and to receive a few gifts of colored cloths and pictures. The Koalut man did not enter joyously into any of the proceedings, but hovered aloof, and seemed to have a superstitious dread of putting himself within any kind of enclosure, however slightly defined. Isa, on the other hand, showed a disposition to take advantage of the situation by asking for a doctor to examine his eyes. His sight, like that of many of the islanders, was seriously impaired. One of the surgeons applied a lotion to the inside of his lids, an operation which he bore with equanimity, and then besought a bottle of the mixture for future use. The visit was brought to an end a little after noon, and the seven chiefs returned with their flags and presents, the Kuchilai and Kaotan "head-men" accompanying them, similarly equipped. Just as they went away, a regimental parade was taking place, and the regular and symmetrical movements of nearly a thousand men—in ornamental "drill" the Japanese are perfect—made great impression on the mountaineers. But the mere display of tactics would never have brought them to the sense of helplessness which they now felt; that was all due to the successive exploits that had broken down their self-assurance—the forcing of "Stone Gate," the slaying of the Botan chief, and the overrunning of the country which they thought could be defended against invaders to all eternity.

and knowing very little about them himself, he had endowed them with extraordinary ideal attributes, from the depths of his consciousness. He said that they were capable of projecting missiles all the way across the island, over the mountains, and through them, if necessary; and, so long as they were pointed toward the savage territory, the inhabitants thereof could never be beyond the power of a Japanese attack.

CHAPTER XXV.

VOYAGE TO THE EASTERN COAST—NISHIN BAY—DIFFICULTY OF LANDING—AMICABLE GREETINGS—DISTENDED EARS OF FORMOSANS—THE CHIEF OF KOALUT—REFRESHMENTS IN OPEN AIR—FORMOSAN DISTILLED SPIRITS—ISA IN HIS CUPS—CAMP IN THE SAVAGE COUNTRY.

THE arrangement for the occupation of a piece of land on the East Coast was made on the 9th of June and on the 10th it was decided to send around a small force in the frigate "Nishin," to a point already visited and examined from a distance. The indefatigable and plucky interpreter, Johnson, was sent, with Miya, to notify the inhabitants of Tuilasok and the neighborhood of the proposed new encampment, and, on the morning of the 11th, the "Nishin" started, with fifty marines on board. This little excursion was put under the direction of Admiral Akamatsu, assisted by Major Fukusima. The voyage was the first, I believe, that foreigners had ever taken part in, in a Japanese man-of-war. It is needless to say that the greatest courtesy was shown to the American guests. The officers of the ship were gentlemen of rather exceptional culture, many of them understanding several languages, and one of them, in particular, speaking English with as much purity of accent and fluency as if it were his mother tongue. The passage occupied only a few hours—from ten in the morning until three in the afternoon. About twelve, the bay in which the "Rover" tragedy took place was passed. This, though not more than a mile in depth, is said to be the largest inlet of the whole island. The little indentation selected for a landing-place is not indicated in the published charts, and was a discovery of the "Nishin," made in the trip of

three weeks before, when she was fired upon from the shore. It affords a very slight protection from gales, and, I presume, is valuable only as one of the few available points of debarkation along the Eastern coast.

As the frigate dropped anchor, a group of men was seen on the beach with three of the flags that had been distributed the day before. This showed that they were disposed to put the tokens of good understanding to an early test. The landing was not effected without difficulty, the surf being rather high. Everybody was more or less wet, and the American Commodore was swept clean overboard. But, as I have often remarked, this is an experience which does not come amiss under the scorching sun of the tropics. We finally found our way into the mouth of a little river, not far from the bank of which were gathered Isa, Sinjio and Lulin, with a few of their followers. They had seen our approach, from a considerable distance further south, and had run along the shore, with their flags, to meet us. They had built a fire, with what earthly or unearthly design we could not then conjecture, near which they expected us to sit down, and seemed somewhat concerned at our unwillingness to subject ourselves to their artificial heat in addition to that which naturally blazed upon us. All of the natives were more carelessly attired than on their ceremonial visits to Sialiao, and not only appeared without ornaments but with very little clothing of any sort. They were in much better humor than they had ever before appeared, owing, I suppose, to their freedom from all restraint, and the consciousness that their feet were on their native sage-brush. Most of them exhibited a tendency to unintelligible jocularity; Isa being the exception. He still preserved an imperturbable stolidity, but the amity of his sentiments was indicated by his wearing the sword that had been given him by General Saigo. In consequence of some misunderstanding as to the place of meeting, Johnson did not promptly appear, to interpret; and meanwhile, the fifty marines were landed, together with an equal number of sailors. Brief visits were made to Tuilasok,

the old home of Tokitok, and to other villages within a mile of the shore. This region is more attractive in appearance than the country round about Liangkiao, the hills rising rapidly from the water's edge, and being covered with thick and variegated verdure. On the sands there were signs of an avocation which the savages have not generally been supposed to follow. Long fishng nets were stretched upon frames, and "catamarans" were propped up on edge, ready for launching. In the centre of the beach there was a suspicious looking line of elevated sand, about two feet high and thirty feet long, just at the spot whence the "Nishin" was fired upon. It had most probably been thrown up as a breast-work, from which to repel any attempt to land, at that time, and the position was well enough chosen for the purpose, a safe way of retreat to the hills lying exactly behind it.

As the afternoon passed, numbers of the natives came in from various directions, some belonging to the fierce race which we usually speak of as aboriginal, and others of Chinese descent. The former are always easily distinguished by their distended ears, the lobes of many of which are stretched around pieces of circular metal or stone, not less in circumference than a Mexican dollar. It may hereafter become a question whether any connection can be traced between these people and the Japanese, who are known to have occupied Formosa ages ago, by means of these prodigious ears. There are in Japan innumerable pictures and bronzes representing early heros, saints etc., in which the lower part of this feature is disproportionately large and drooping, and sometimes consists of a mere rim, which is precisely the case here. The famous statue of Dai Butsu, at Kamakura, is an example in point. The origin of this peculiar form of disfigurement is undoubtedly Indian, and these Formosans are the last living race that continue to practise it.

All the new-comers were heavily armed, but all were prompt in their invariable salutation of friendship, which consists in placing the hand upon the breast, to signify, they say, that the heart is good. Some of

the men of Chinese descent knew how to write, and amused themselves by tracing simple characters in the sand. A few of the savages could understand a little Chinese, but could not write or read. Their own language has no written form, so far as I could learn. Mutual communication was extremely disjointed and incoherent, until the arrival of the interpreters, when all was smooth again. The camping ground was selected and approved, the "head man" of Tuilasok again refusing to be remunerated. Later in the day, a Koalut warrior marched in among us; who, we were assured this time, beyond a question, was the chief himself. He was near his own domain, now, and, if not without reproach, was devoid of fear. He was a little man, this leader of the most blood-thirsty tribe, except the Botans, in the Peninsula, with a rather effeminate face, large mild eyes, and a wreath of wild flowers tastefully woven into his hair. One of his companions had a somewhat similar, though more extensive decoration, composed of leaves and twigs. The young inheritor of the majesty of Tuilasok was adorned with a pheasant's plume of great length. His brother, Tokitok's youngest son, was unembellished except by his fine intelligent brow and beautiful eyes. He was the only handsome savage of the lot, unless the Koalut chief might put in a claim to partial rivalry; and would hardly have had a blemish to his countenance but for the bored ears and the lips stained with betel-nut juice.

Toward sunset, a fresh party was seen advancing over the hills, bearing tubs and baskets and packages of various shapes and dimensions. It was easy to see that a primitive feast was impending—not a stately banquet, with pig and chicken, but a neat impromptu repast on approved *al fresco* savage principles. There was rice and there were eggs, and especially there were great vessels of sweet-potato samshu, for the last touches to the preparation of which we now saw that the fire was to be made available. The liquor was re-heated, and then handed around with persistent, not to say oppressive, hospitality. It was not particularly palatable,

but was extremely potent, with a flavor not unlike very inferior Irish whiskey. Our hosts expressed much regret when we refused to join them in every "round," but, I think, consoled themselves with the reflection that there would be more left for themselves. The process of emptying and refilling the cups was plainly pursued with what Dr. Johnson declared to be the only aim of drinking, and the consequences were speedily apparent in the growing hilarity and a sudden development of affectionate tenderness. Isa himself, the stern and unbending, began to make jokes. He several times distorted his face into what was meant to be a smile. When he undertook to accompany us to our boats, he kicked about the sand involuntarily, and pretended he had done it out of pure facetiousness. The last I saw of him, he was trying to walk through a fishing net that hung in his way, but of which he was as oblivious, for the moment, as of the ancient feuds of his race. The astonishing thing about this transaction was the fact of its taking place—as a demonstration of thorough good feeling—on a shore which had never before been approached by strangers with impunity, and in a spot which, only twenty days previously, had witnessed a murderous attempt on the part of the inhabitants against the very guests of the present moment.

The following day was occupied in the establishment of the camp, a process which was scrutinized, apparently with interest, by an English gun-boat that had followed the "Nishin" from Liangkiao Bay. On the 13th, the frigate returned to the West side of the island, leaving a number of officers who desired to make the return journey overland.

On the 14th, a small transport started for Nagasaki conveying General Tani, with the latest reports, and many of the invalids. On the 16th, Admiral Akamatsu and Major Fukusima sailed in the "Nishin" for China, bearers of despatches to the Japanese Minister at Peking.

CHAPTER XXVI.

NEW CAMP ESTABLISHED—JAPANESE SURGEONS—INSALUBRITY OF THE OLD STATION—A TRANQUIL EXISTENCE—ANIMALS, INSECTS, AND REPTILES OF THE COUNTRY—LIMITED DIVERSIONS—SAIGO'S CHOICE OF AN INVADING ARMY—YOKOHAMA NEWSPAPERS—JAPANESE EXPLORATIONS OF FORMOSA—FRIENDLY VISITS TO THE INTERIOR—EXPERIMENTAL FARM ATTEMPTED.

THE ground first occupied, between the two rivers of Liangkiao valley, having been found inconvenient, unhealthy, and generally unsuitable, a new encampment was laid out about the middle of May, and was gradually prepared with a good deal of care, under the direction of the industrious Hirano, of the quarter-master's department. Several houses were built, for hospitals and for officers' quarters, which, considering the limited resources at hand, were positively palatial in their amplitude and comfort. At least, they seemed so to persons who had been alternately stifled and half-drowned in bell-tents for a month. The hospital patients were transferred early in June, and it speaks highly for the skill of the Japanese surgeons that with a single exception, all the wounded men were well on their way to recovery within a fortnight. The doctors of all the English ships spoke very handsomely of the way in which the injuries were dressed and treated. I was glad to have such variously corroborating evidence of the cleverness of our surgeons, for they were such gallant fellows on a march that one liked to have his good opinion of them confirmed in all ways. They went forth armed, not only with the instruments of their calling, but also with swords girded and rifles in hand, ready for operations of the most divergent character, either in or out of their line.

Whatever doubt there may be as to the ability of the Japanese to construct a camp upon strict military principles, there is no question that in choosing positions of wholesome comfort and natural beauty they have keen discernment and judgment. The old ground had been selected solely on account of the supposed necessity of holding a defensive situation. As soon as it was discovered that no attack from the natives could possibly be apprehended, all interest in this locality was abandoned. The work on the intrenchments was suspended, and the attention of everybody concerned was directed to the improvement of the new site, two miles distant from the original landing place. That this spot, which was, from the beginning, the choice of the Japanese officers as a place for permanent occupation, had immeasurable advantages over the old position, subsequent events proved in a most disastrous way. The fevers that desolated the little army in the months of August and September would unquestionably have been averted if the troops had been, from the outset, stationed upon high ground, instead of in a plain where they were subjected to incessant fogs and floods during the first month of occupation. A mistaken apprehension of attacks in force and conducted on established principles of regular warfare, —in which, it may be mentioned, the Japanese did not all participate —was the basis upon which they were persuaded to adopt a place of encampment which was objectionable to every sense of health and comfort, and from which they were glad to escape at the earliest practicable opportunity—not, unhappily, before the seeds of fatal disease were sown among them.

Just to the south of the village of Sialiao is a little hill of some two hundred and fifty or three hundred feet in height, called, from its shape, Ku San (Tortoise Hill) by the Chinese, and Kame Yama by the Japanese. It is the same acclivity that was ascended by Japanese officers on the 7th of May for purposes of observation. Beyond it, still further south, is a plot of level ground some twenty acres in extent, slightly elevated above

the level of the sea, and, while protected by surrounding hills from the extremest violence of the weather, open at all times to breezes which seem absolutely cool in comparison with the dire intensities of the valley. Here the new quarters were established, and from that time onward, for many weeks, existence was tolerable. The actual heat was in no degree reduced, and it was not even tempered by heavy rains like those of the end of May, but there was no hour of the day or night without a cheering and refreshing wind, and the dangers of camp fever were for some time entirely forgotten.

I fancy that to those who have faith in the delights of positive tranquillity a prolonged career on this particular part of the Formosa coast would not have been, during these days, without its charm. The atmosphere was warm, but in this spot not debilitating, and the outlook was to some extent picturesque, combining many varieties of land and ocean irregularity. The temporary occupants—I mean the Japanese—were of a race that never could disturb the rational mind by excesses of temper. Perfect courtesy was their universal rule. Animated nature was not otherwise superlatively engaging, though it possessed a few elements of interest. Our beasts were very few, and they were totally unattractive. They were chiefly varieties of the cattle (water buffalos) of which I have before spoken. There were no horses—a few ponies, perhaps half a dozen, brought by the Japanese, serving only as exceptions to this rule. Horses were not always unknown in Liangkiao, but the last three or four importations of stock by the coast villagers having been captured and eaten by the savages, all native attempts to introduce the equine element were abandoned. It was not as an article of diet—least of all barbarian diet—that the people of Sialiao sought to establish the breed. The men of the mountains expressed no desire to eat the Japanese ponies. They knew that these particular quadrupeds would not be easy of digestion. The dogs of the region were utterly inhuman; they would not be attracted to us by any wiles we could hold forth. Birds, insects and reptiles alone remained. Of the first there were

great numbers, though what their rank in ornithological circles might be, and what their name, I have no power to tell. They were only songsters, and, I suppose, would be utterly despicable to the sportsman. But they filled the air with the merriest kind of music each morning, and were in greater or less degree audible throughout the day. In the evenings their place was supplied by insects, whose volubility surpassed that of the chirping things in most countries that I have visited. It was not quite so agreeable as that which may be heard in the forests of Japan, for the "semi" there are truly melodious; but it was full of a brisk vivacity. The insects were to some extent assisted by the reptiles, for there were chattering lizards that took peculiar joy in climbing up on our roofs, perching in windows and intrenching themselves in all sorts of angles, whence they sent forth brief, stammering and plaintive refrains, which might have been accepted as well intended serenades if they had not been protracted to hours beyond all endurance. Other reptiles visited us at times, not so harmless in reputation and far more objectionable in appearance—scorpions, snakes and eager, nipping centipedes. They were not, however, very profuse and only the centipedes appeared in numbers or size sufficient to warrant a moment's anxiety. We sometimes encountered specimens of these eight inches long, and to find them of four inches soon ceased to be a novelty. I shook one of that length out of my coat-pocket one morning, as I was dressing. Strangely enough, we could not get any positive information as to the habits of these creatures. The natives were all afraid of them, apparently, but would not say that their bites were positively dangerous.

Apart from the birds and lizards, the sources of our enlivening sounds were not numerous. Venders of questionable native products were excluded from this camp, so their cries no longer agitated the air. There was one particular strain, perhaps the most frequent of all, which has a historical prototype. Cervantes speaks, in "Don Quixote," of the noise caused by "the ponderous wheels of an ox wagon, from whose harsh and continuous

"creaking, it is said, wolves and bears fly away in terror." The axles of ancient Spain were perhaps of a more obstinate and complaining character; but in Liangkiao their utterance was rather agreeable than otherwise. The ungreased wheels send out a cry like that of a distant rustic horn, and I have often known it to be mistaken for the low steam whistle of a ship far out in the harbor. And, last of all, we had the periodic calls of the trumpeters, which, although they came a dozen times a day, seemed always strange and unusual in this wild district. They were the common calls of American and European usage, and were as often sounded amiss as correctly; but I ceased to think of the errors of their delivery after I had been witness to the pluck of the little buglers in their marches to the interior. These lads were almost all about fourteen or fifteen years old, and they went through the whole of the work of the early days of this month as if they had been veterans. In addition to the instruments of their calling they carried all the paraphernalia of the regular soldier, and they kept their appointed place in the line with as much persistence as the most experienced and most muscular of their companions.

Thus the calm routine of *far niente* might easily satisfy the inactive mind; but to volatile natures, like the Japanese, the prolonged stagnation and the prospect of its indefinite continuation must have been immeasurably gloomy. The diversifying incidents were extremely few. Once a week or so a company came in from a camp in the mountains or on the opposite shore and another marched out to take its place. At rare intervals a steamer arrived, bringing newspapers from Japan, and all who understood English had then a momentary amusement in observing how most of these publications vied with one another in demonstrating their singular spite, and their ignorance which was not all singular, respecting this very Formosa expedition; which enterprise irritated them to frenzy by persistently proceeding to the fulfilment of its well defined purpose regardless of their derision or their attempts at criticism—"criticism which," to use the words

of one of their own number who had a clearer estimate than the others of the responsibilities of journalism, "simply consisted in standing in the mud "and throwing handfuls of it at Japan." What that well defined purpose was can hardly be too often repeated. It was to avenge the murder of a number of shipwrecked Japanese and to establish a sufficient security, in one way or another, against the recurrence of similar outrages. The sequel showed conclusively enough whether the countless imputations of different designs were true or false.

Respecting the ideas of conquest, with which the Japanese were freely charged, I heard the commanding General Saigo, say one evening that the invading army he would best like to introduce here—and would introduce if circumstances should combine to prolong his stay—would be a corps of school teachers to redeem the savages from at least a portion of their utter ignorance. As to the political control of the region, he plainly stated that he would rather see it placed in the hands of any one of the more powerful chiefs—one that could be trusted in a certain degree—than otherwise disposed of. In that way, he thought, unless the Chinese should be finally roused to assuming a jurisdiction that might insure positive security to strangers, the best guarantee of safety could be obtained. Occasionally, again, in the way of diversion, we were gathered to hear the narratives of Japanese explorers who had returned from various parts of the interior whither they had been sent to gather information. This method of collecting knowledge had been for a long time in progress. It commenced months before the sailing of the expedition, and was still actively pursued. One of the first investigators was Major Fukusima, whose name has frequently been mentioned in these pages. He, however, travelled only in the Chinese districts, whereas the later observers went exclusively among the savages. They all reported the same wild and barbarous condition in every settlement, from North to South. The tribes were said to be alike in their ignorance of all but the rudest methods of cultivation, producing

only rice, tobacco and potatos, and not knowing how to avail themselves of luxuries that lay ready to their hand, like the sugar cane; and in their defiance and hatred of the Chinese, whose authority they totally denied, and against whom they frequently arrayed themselves in "head-hunting" excursions, the results of which were to be seen in prominent displays of skulls in their villages. Their usages were described as generally the same, though a few slight differences were reported in the way of what they consider personal decoration. The styles of tattooing were not found to be always similar, and in some localities the custom did not exist; and here and there a strange fancy was exhibited in the disappearance of the two front upper teeth from the mouths of the married women.

On still rarer occasions a little relaxation was afforded by visits to or from the friendly "head-men" of the interior. They were still too shy to venture very freely among us, but they promulgated standing invitations to such hospitality as they could offer. For once in a way it served to amuse, but questionably cooked pigs and chickens were not long alluring, and the society of even the mildest-mannered savage rapidly ceased to attract. There seemed to be no doubt of the good feeling of most of the Southern tribes. Early in June, Saigo sent over some physicians to look after their general health, and this, I believe, has always proved the most effectual appeal to barbarian confidence all over the world. The chiefs were from that time almost oppressive in their protestations, and if the pigs of Formosa had had the ordinary instinct of their species, the approach of any Japanese officer of rank would have put every sty in a panic. But the native feasts were certainly dull. The incidents were monotonous and the interchange of conversational ideas was not brilliant. The wing of friendship never moulted a feather, so far as I know; but it did not fan with sufficient vigor to rouse the breeze of exhilaration. We were reduced to the feeblest expedients for sustaining mutual interest. Fancy making the experiment of chewing betel-nut for absolute want of anything else to do.

I tried it, on one occasion, for half an hour or more, without a result worth mentioning. The nut was carefully prepared according to the most approved custom—that is, wrapped in a leaf smeared with lime. The taste was hardly distinguishable from that of checkerberries, and unless it may be in the flow of red saliva which it promotes, it was impossible to conceive where the charm of the practice could lie. After one trial there was certainly no temptation for a stranger to repeat the operation.

The natural results of the excessive munificence of the Japanese on their first arrival constantly manifested themselves, and sometimes in vexatious ways. One of General Saigo's minor projects was the establishment of a little experimental farm for the cultivation—or the attempt at cultivation—of plants hitherto foreign to the soil of Southern Formosa. Under no circumstances that can well be conceived could the Japanese have remained long enough to reap any practical advantage from this scheme, though undoubtedly the inhabitants might have gained some benefit from the results, if they had cared or known how to avail themselves of them. But no sooner was his purpose made known than the proprietors of every desirable piece of ground for miles around became so inflated with the expectation of sudden wealth that the most preposterous terms for rent were demanded. For the temporary use of a few acres sums far outreaching their entire worth were asked and confidently looked for. The plan was, naturally, abandoned. It was of no special importance, but would have had a certain interest for many, who were deprived of what might have served as a pleasant occupation for a few weary months.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SECOND VISIT FROM CHINESE OFFICIALS—MANNER OF THEIR RECEPTION—COMPLIMENTS FROM A FOREIGN ADVISER—PERSONNEL OF THE MISSION—YANAGIWARA, JAPANESE ENVOY TO PEKING—FIRST SUGGESTION OF REMONSTRANCE FROM CHINA—CONFERENCES IN SHANGHAI—VIOLATION OF CHINESE PLEDGES—INTERVIEWS BETWEEN GENERAL SAIGO AND COMMISSIONER PAN WI—DIPLOMATIC CUNNING AND SOLDIERLY CANDOR.

RELIEF from the absolute monotony which threatened us suddenly appeared in an unexpected though by no means disagreeable way. On the evening of the 21st of June two Chinese ships of war sailed down from the north and anchored in the large bay about two miles distant from the new camp,—the safe and usual place of debarkation. A notification was presently sent on shore to the effect that they brought certain officials of really high rank, who had been commissioned by the government of Peking especially to confer with the Japanese representative in Formosa, with a view to the adjustment of all questions concerning the present condition of affairs and establishing satisfactory arrangements for the future. Gen. Saigo answered, that he should be happy to receive them on the following morning.

At an early hour the next day, the Chinese officers landed, with their suite, and were met upon the beach by an escort of troops, whose appearance was unusually picturesque, from the fact that one half of them—Satsuma men—were dressed for the occasion in the old national war costume, the other half being clad in their modern military garb. They proceeded at once to the village of Chasiang, a mile north of the old camp,

where they secured comfortable quarters for the term of their visit. Every consideration and respect were shown them by our soldiers, a circumstance that will not seem remarkable to those who are aware of the scrupulous punctiliousness of the Japanese, but which produced a deep effect upon the new comers. I have authority for saying that they were somewhat apprehensive of a different style of reception, and Mr. Giquel, a French gentleman attached to the commission, did not hesitate to declare his surprise and admiration at the fine behavior of all concerned. He was good enough to intimate that if the conditions had been reversed, he could not have answered for equal reticence and courtesy on the Chinese side; and to aver that he certainly should not count upon similar good taste and manners in case of a reception by soldiers—on and off duty—of any European nation. With as little delay as possible the visitors settled their affairs in Chasiang, and proceeded at once to the old head-quarters, where Gen. Saigo was waiting to greet them.

After a few brief and formal salutations, inseparable from Oriental etiquette, the Chinese deputation started upon the business of their mission. They had, on their side, an officer named Pan Wi, who indirectly represented the central government; Ya Hen Lin, the Taotai or governor of Chinese Formosa; an assistant of the latter, and Messrs. Giquel and de Segonzac, two French gentlemen long connected with the administration of the Fuchao arsenal, and high in the confidence of the Chinese authorities. On the Japanese side, General Saigo was alone. The interview was interesting, though of course not decisive, being regarded only as preliminary to other negociations. As an example of official intercourse in the East, I shall presently record it in somewhat minute detail, although it ought perhaps to be stated beforehand that the diplomatic formality and routine were almost exclusively on the part of the Chinese, General Saigo treating the matters under discussion with a downright frankness and simplicity that led, on this and subsequent occasions, to curious

and probably unlooked for episodes.

The conversation opened with the announcement that the principal Chinese delegate, Shen Pao Chen, sent his respects from Taiwan Fu—the Chinese capital of Formosa—to which place he had accompanied the embassy, but where he was detained by illness. Not wishing to run the risks of prolonged delay, he had authorized his associate to represent and act for him in the completest way. This associate, Pan, then asked if a copy of the report of certain interviews, held at Shanghai between himself and Yanagiwara Sakimitsu, the Japanese Minister to Peking, had been received. Being informed that it had not, he stated that such interviews had taken place, the two officials having met accidentally at Shanghai, while Yanagiwara was on his way to the capital. With respect to this statement it is desirable to explain that the Japanese delegate in question, who was not only on ex-kuge, or nobleman of the old Kioto Court, but also, which was more to the purpose in the present state of affairs, a practised attaché of the Foreign Office at Tokio, had received his appointment in the regular course of diplomatic arrangements, without especial reference to the question that eventually became the absorbing subject of discussion between the two nations. He would have proceeded to his post sooner than he did but for the general delays and obstructions which followed the first manifestations of foreign interference, especially on the part of Mr. Bingham. He did, in fact, start from Tokio on the 19th of May, bearing credentials that had been prepared as early as the 8th of April, the chief purport of which was to reiterate to the Tsung li Yamen the friendly assurances that had already been given through other channels, and which were identical in tone and spirit with those conveyed in the letter of General Saigo to the Viceroy of Fu Kien. Yanagiwara reached Shanghai on the 29th of May. While he was on his way, the first word of formal warning that the Chinese government might be moved to take a suspicious view of the Japanese proceedings was sent from Peking, in the form of a despatch

from the Tsung li Yamen to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Tokio. This document, which it may be necessary to refer to more particularly hereafter, admitted the fact that Soyezima, at the time of his visit in 1873, had brought up and discussed the subject of sending a mission to Formosa, but also put forward the pretence that the Yamen had never supposed that the persons entrusted with the task would be accompained by an armed force—an affectation which seemed at the time, and in the light of the subsequent admissions of the Chinese seems now still more, unworthy of serious consideration. The idea of attempting to deal with the savages without a force to fall back upon in case of extremity would have been equally preposterous to Japanese, Chinese and more distant foreigners. The letter of the Yamen moreover contained a statement showing that the impulse to this unexpected declaration had proceeded from the Western Ministers residing at Peking. Yanagiwara having already started for China, the only answer returned by the Tokio government was to the effect that the matters now first adduced for consideration would be duly entertained by that officer, in the regular discharge of his functions.

Immediately after his arrival at Shanghai, the Japanese Envoy was visited by Pan Wi, who was then on the way to Fuchao, whence he proposed to sail for Formosa. Learning from him of the new turn that affairs were taking, Yanagiwara agreed to several informal interviews for the purpose of ascertaining at the earliest moment the views and intentions of the Chinese government. The critical character of the situation appeared to warrant him in departing from the strict routine of official intercourse, and to gather all available information from this opportune source. There was no reason why he should conceal the true objects of his own government, which from the first had been openly declared whenever the occasion required their disclosure. He learned from Pan that the superior officer, Shen Pao Chen, was on the point of proceeding to Formosa with the design of entering into direct negociations with Saigo.

Upon this point, he took occasion to say that such a measure would be a needless waste of time, inasmuch as, although Saigo's powers in the management of affairs on the island of Formosa were full and unrestricted, he had no authority to adjust questions that might arise between the Governments of Japan and China, and, even if he should consent to listen to proposals from Shen, the final result could only be determined after a reference to the higher authorities at home. He therefore advised Pan, in the common interest, to communicate this statement to Shen and to induce that officer to carry the subject before only the tribunals that were competent to deal with it.* This course the Chinese sub-commissioner promised to take, but, as the event showed, he was not successful in persuading his superior, if indeed, he ever made the effort to do so, which seems doubtful. Having joined Shen at Fuchao, he immediately started with him on their joint errand, arriving at Liangkiao on the 20th of June, as stated above.

Pan Wi having put his question in regard to the report of the Shanghai interviews, and received the answer from General Saigo, he proceeded to express his regret that a notification had not been sent to China in regard to the intention of the Japanese to visit Formosa (Taiwan) and punish the offending savages. If such warning had been given in time, the Chinese government would have supplied a force to accompany the Japanese and assist in the operations,—but the work having now been completed, it was too late for China to attempt to participate. Saigo answered that word had certainly been sent to declare and explain the

*The following extract is from a written communication from Yanagiwara to Pan Wi, "delivered in the course of the conferences alluded to:—"It is quite true that Saigo has full "powers so far as matters in Aboriginal Formosa are concerned, he being Commander in "Chief of the troops sent there by our government. But he has no commission to negociate "with the Chinese Government. I, therefore, will converse with you in reference to the in- "structions which I have received from my Emperor, after you shall have had an interview "with Commissioner Shen."

purposes of his government, and, furthermore, that Soyezima, the Japanese ambassador, had requested the whole subject to be examined, at the time of his visit, one year ago. The Chinese Commissioner said it was quite true that a messenger had recently passed through China with letters from the Japanese authorities, but that the bad condition of the roads between Fuchao and Peking had made it impossible for him to deliver his news in time. Saigo remarked that it was a mistake to suppose that the work was entirely done, and that he expected to be obliged to remain yet some time, to execute all the instructions of his government and secure guarantees for the future safety of his countrymen; to which the Commissioner replied that he understood and respected that view of the affair, and did not dispute the General's right to entertain it. He entirely comprehended the purposes of the Japanese and admitted the propriety of their fulfilment; but, inasmuch as the whole of Formosa, with all its inhabitants, savages and others, belonged to China, it became the duty of the Chinese authorities, also, to inquire as to who had been the assailants in the slaughter of the Riu Kiuans, in 1871, and to discover, in a more general way, who among the population were well-behaved and who were criminals: this was one of the most important parts of the service with which he was charged. The Taotai of Taiwan then observed that he had heard it was the intention of the Japanese to attack the aboriginal settlement of Pilam, on the eastern coast, and he wished to inquire if this was true. The question, for some reason, was not answered,—possibly because the fact of Japan having no cause whatever of complaint against Pilam rendered it unworthy of a serious reply. The Commissioner next produced his own record of the interview, before alluded to, between Pan and Yanagiwara, which Saigo read and found to contain, on the part of the Japanese Minister, a repetition of the frequently declared object of his government, —namely, to destroy or sufficiently punish the Botan murderers, by means of an expedition which should furthermore take effective measures to

prevent the recurrence of such outrages. This document having been read, the Commissioner said he would like to know what plan the General had decided upon, if any, for the prevention of future misdeeds. In response, Saigo stated that he undoubtedly had a plan which seemed to him suitable and sufficient, but he did not think it desirable to reveal it, especially as his operations were still in progress. The savage tribes were not yet completely brought to terms, and his troops were scattered in various parts of Southern Formosa, and it seemed to him altogether inexpedient to communicate the details of his plan. The Commissioner said that he had come to Formosa by the direction of his government, to superintend the settlement of the affairs of the entire disturbed district, in co-operation with the Japanese Commander; and asked if the latter had nothing to disclose, with a view to mutually carrying out this design. Saigo answered that he also came under very distinct directions from his government, but that they related solely to the punishment of the savages and the security of safety for the future, aud did not contemplate any co-operation with Chinese officials; that on his arrival he found that the Chinese-speaking people of the region were in no way under the control of China, and that the savages were utterly wild and lawless, beyond the control of everybody, and requiring to be dealt with by a vigorous hand. This he had done by himself, and he had now no scheme of co-operation to propose, nor could he accept or submit to any. The Commissioner—counselled, I think, by the foreign gentlemen beside him, though I must not be positive on this point—continued to press his proposal for repeated conferences and combined action, but Saigo steadily declined, particularly as these suggestions were always accompanied by declarations that the legitimate sway of China extended over all Formosa and its people—a position which the Japanese General was not disposed to admit, conceiving that the question had already been debated and adjusted by Soyezima in Peking, and that, under any circumstances, it was not necessary for him to discuss it

here. In fact, he remarked that if the Commissioner desired to continue any general discussions based upon that theory, he thought it could be more appropriately done through the Japanese Envoy to the Chinese Court—that it was more correctly a subject of negociation between the two nations than between individual commissioners at a distant point. This terminated the official part of the meeting, and the conference was soon broken up, arrangements being made for a second interview, for the presentation of certain points which the Chinese held in reserve. This was fixed for the 24th inst. On the afternoon of the 22nd, Gen. Saigo visited the Commissioner at his temporary residence in Chasiang—a call of courtesy merely, and not for the consideration of public business, although Pan Wi took advantage of the opportunity to briefly reassert his claim that the labor of the future pacification of the savages should be ultimately and definitely undertaken by China alone.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CHINESE VISITS TO THE INTERIOR—FINAL CONFERENCE—A RAY OF LIGHT—PLAIN EXPRESSIONS OF OPINION—SHARP WORDS—PRACTICAL PROPOSALS FAVORABLY RECEIVED—TERMS OF SETTLEMENT SUGGESTED—COURTESIES TO THE VISITORS—JAPANESE AND CHINESE SOLDIERS CONTRASTED.

THE next day was occupied by the Chinese, so far as I could learn, in establishing communications with some of the independent coast villages in the neighborhood, and in sending messengers, with presents, etc., to those savage tribes in the interior which the exertions of the Japanese had rendered accessible. But for these previous exertions, it would have been impossible for the Chinese to carry through such interviews with any degree of safety. No feeling appears to be more keenly cherished by the mountaineers than their traditional hatred of all Chinese, and especially those coming from a distance, whose speech is entirely unintelligible to them. But now the visitors found little difficulty in reaching Sawali and other villages in which the pacifically-disposed "head-men" resided. Of course they made no attempt to enter the territory of the Botan or Kusukut tribes. What the nature of their communications may have been it is impossible to say. The Japanese officers made no effort to discover, and they were not of a nature to cause any alteration in the behavior of the savages toward our troops—either those encamped among them or nearer head-quarters.

The last and most important conference between the Japanese General and the Commissioner began on the afternoon of June 24th and was continued through the 25th. The results arrived at promised a speedy term-

ination of the active operations of the Japanese. Although the refusals of Saigo to assume the responsibility of absolute decision were as positive as ever, he nevertheless found it possible to promise that the Chinese proposals should be forwarded, with favorable endorsements, to his government, and to indicate his personal satisfaction with their general tenor. There would have been slight occasion for subsequent proceedings, if the course of the Chinese officials had been sustained by those who sent them, and the conditions which they expressed themselves ready and empowered to fulfill had been faithfully and promptly executed by their superiors. It is hardly desirable to follow minutely the course of a conversation which extended over so many hours, and in which many points were introduced, at times, which proved to be irrelevant to the final settlement. Each party conducted his side of the discussion in the way that best suited his individual or national character. The Chinese officer was circumspect, deliberate, wary, and highly polished in tone and expression. General Saigo was frank and straight-forward, and, though always courteous in manner of speech, was, I presume, far too abrupt in his declarations of determined conviction to suit the circuitous smoothness of Chinese statecraft. A single instance will show the vast difference in the methods of treating the questions at issue adopted by the two men. The topic of the future control of the savages was under consideration. China's representative declared the readiness of his government to give pledges that they would maintain a sufficient force to keep perfect order in future. The General replied to the effect that he did not doubt that pledges would be given, but was by no means assured that they would be adhered to with fidelity. On being asked why, he intimated that the whole course of the Chinese, in the Formosa business, had been one of duplicity; that they perfectly well knew the Japanese causes of complaint two years ago, and now pretended ignorance of them up to a late period; that they had disclaimed jurisdiction over the savage territory until within a few weeks, and now

announced that they had always assumed it; that it had been open to them at any time since 1871 to punish the Botans, by themselves, for the massacre of the Japanese subjects, whereas they now affected great regret at not having been invited to accompany the expedition for chastising them, and that, all things considered, he did not believe they would keep the savages in subjection, even if they promised to. Whereupon Pan Wi flew into a rage, prudently directing his ire, however, not toward the General, but against the interpreter, whom he accused of falsely translating what Saigo had said; averring that it was impossible that the Japanese Commander could have used such language, and directing him to report to his master exactly the rebuke he had received. But it is not at all in Saigo's nature to accept a proposal for this sort of evasion, so he stated that his interpreter was not at all responsible, and repeated his conviction; but added, when the Commissioner gave indications of irrepressible wrath, that if this particular subject was disagreeable, it could be abandoned for a while, and resumed at another time. Episodes like this were certainly not frequent; but their occasional occurrence served to show that the Japanese officer would not agree to any terms of settlement that should not strictly bind the Chinese to the complete fulfilment of all their obligations.

This detail is anticipatory. From the beginning, the sole desire of the Commissioner, Pan, seemed to be to establish the right of his government to jurisdiction over the whole of the soil of Formosa. Equally from the beginning, the Japanese General pointed out how repeatedly that claim had been waived. At the same time, he did not hesitate to assure the Chinese official that the Japanese had no purpose of attempting to wrest from China even an imaginary possession. His design was, as it had always been, to inflict a necessary punishment, and establish a state of security for the future. Gradually, the idea was brought forward, on the other side, that the difficulty might be arranged by China's assuming the task of preserving peace throughout the disturbed region hereafter. Then arose

the amusing little break in the discussion which I have described above. In course of time the suggestion arose and gained favor that the Chinese might give substantial guarantees of the integrity of their intentions. This grew out of an intimation, on the part of the Japanese, that, if all this region had really been under China's control, then Japan had been doing the work that China ought to have done but had neglected, at an expenditure which should properly have fallen upon the other party. Although merely an incidental observation, not intended as especially pertinent, this was, I think, somewhat eagerly seized upon. Suppose that the Peking Government would undertake to reimburse the Japanese for their outlay,—would that meet any of the questions in dispute? It seemed to be agreed on all sides that this would at least stand as strong evidence of good faith. And so, after many divergencies and variations of slight import, it was ultimately agreed, on the evening of June 25th, that the active operations of the Japanese should be suspended, pending a reference of terms of settlement, for final consideration, to the respective governments. These terms were to be substantially as follows:

The Chinese authorities to reimburse the Japanese for the cost of their expedition.

The Chinese to guarantee such occupation of the savage territory of Formosa as should prevent the recurrence of outrages upon strangers.

These conditions effected, the Japanese forces to be withdrawn.*

* The intelligence of this basis of agreement was telegraphed at the earliest moment from Amoy to the *New York Herald*, in which journal it appeared about the middle of July. Its accuracy was repeatedly denied by Europeans and Americans in China and Japan, and the theory that the former empire would ever consent to acknowledge a pecuniary obligation, or that the latter would have the courage to exact the payment, was received with universal derision. Up to the last moment, the utter impossibility of such a termination to the affair was noisily and insolently proclaimed by various organs of public opinion in Japan, and, asserted with more moderation, though hardly less confidently, in China. The result, in November, demonstrated with what firmness the Japanese were capable of maintaining their just position, through four months of difficult negociation, during which all

The Chinese Commissioner expressed not the slightest doubt of the willingness of his government to subscribe to this agreement, and gave it to be understood that he was acting with full authority in offering it, and that the reference to Peking was solely a matter of formality. It was therefore reasonable to believe that the occupation of Southern Formosa would terminate in a very short time, and that the duties of the Japanese, in that island, were virtually ended. They were, in fact, required to do nothing until the time of their departure, which took place in December, and which might have taken place much earlier but for the bad faith exhibited by the Peking government. But, notwithstanding the evasions and delays that followed, the original aim of the promoters of the expedition was already as good as accomplished, and in a far more satisfactory way than was, or could have been, at first anticipated. The lesson given to the savage marauders had been effective and lasting. The fact had been thoroughly demonstrated that injuries to any of the subjects of Japan, at least in Asiatic waters, would not pass unredressed. The region which had for years been a terror to all Eastern navigators would hereafter, through the action of Japan, be free from peril—*i. e.* supposing China to hold to that part of the proposed compact. And it now seemed certain that all would have been done—which was a comforting practical consideration—without any exhausting drain upon a national treasury which undoubtedly needed restoration rather than depletion.

During the brief term of the above described visit, no opportunity was lost of offering those attentions and tokens of formal courtesy which it is the spontaneous instinct of the Japanese gentry to bestow, and which invariably distinguishes their intercourse, even with opponents, so long as intercourse upon any terms can be maintained. On the occasion of their disembarkation, the Chinese were received by a body of soldiers variously

the artifices of the most cunning as well as obstinate nation of the East, together with an unparalleled amount of external discouragement, were united in co-operation against them.

attired and accoutred so as to represent the military system of past years as compared with that of the present day. It is not impossible that an indirect moral was intended to be pointed by this peculiar display, but no outward sign of any such purpose was suffered to appear. Each time that the Commissioners came to headquarters, they were accompanied by a battalion of troops, who remained in attendance during the entire period of the interview. Here, again, the probable effect of the fine and soldierly bearing of the Japanese men, which was doubly conspicuous from the insignificant quality of the Chinese cortège, may have been one of the motives for the elaborate forms and ceremonies that were carried out. It is hardly possible that the contrast between the vigorous, alert and confident aspect of these soldiers, their excellent appointments and the precision of their movements, and the languid and stolid demeanor of the "braves," with their tawdry costumes and obsolete weapons, could have escaped the attention of the visitors. But, as I have said, there was no open indication of a desire to produce imposing effects, and it is certain that, apart from this consideration, supposing it to have existed, the complimentary demonstrations would have been on quite as thorough and extensive a scale. The same disposition was shown in the care taken to protect the commissioners from disturbance in their somewhat rash journey to the interior, although this could not be accompanied by ostentatious show, and, in fact, was probably entirely unknown to those on those on whose behalf it was exercised.

On the 26th, the Chinese party took leave. Their ships had taken unwilling leave before them, having been driven northward, from Liangkiao Bay, by a violent storm, on the 25th. They were consequently obliged to march by land to Takao, forty miles distant. They embarked, not without difficulty, at Takao or Taiwan Fu, and we learned with regret that several of the sailors of their men-of-war were drowned in the first attempts at landing at those places.*

* See Appendix, J.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LETTERS FROM UNITED STATES' OFFICERS—THE AMERICANS AGAIN WARNED —CONSULAR NOTIFICATION—EXCITEMENT IN AMOY—JAPANESE HOSTILE MOVEMENTS DISCONTINUED.

On the afternoon of the 1st of July, a little Chinese gunboat came into the harbor, from which presently landed a messenger, who announced himself as a deputy marshal of the United States' Consul at Amoy. He brought private letters from that officer to Messrs. Cassel and Wasson, the former of whom also received communications from Commander Kautz, of the "Monocacy," written, as I understood, in accordance with instructions from Admiral Pennock. These despatches were all of an admonitory character, and their purpose was to warn the gentlemen to whom they were addressed not to participate in any hostile action against the Chinese government. There were two reasons why notifications of this kind were superfluous. In the first place, no hostility toward China had at any time been contemplated, and in the second the services for which Messrs. Cassel and Wasson were especially engaged had never been called into requisition, so that, since the third or fourth day after landing, they had simply occupied the position of interested spectators. In the few events in which they had taken part, their action had been accidental and subsidiary, and entirely aside from the duties which at the outset it was supposed they would be called upon to perform. The Chinese authorities, however, always stimulated by foreign suggestions, chose to attach to their presence a fictitious importance, and, by their urgent representations, persuaded the civil and military authorities to address them as above indicated. I believe that

they considered it sufficient to send, in response, a brief statement of the actual condition of affairs, denying any intention of assisting in warlike operations and promising to withdraw in the improbable event of a collision with China. The following circular document was also delivered by the deputy marshal. As only three Americans were connected, directly or indirectly, with the expedition, the expense of putting it in print seemed rather a useless extravagance; but undoubtedly the Consul could not be aware of the exact number, and thought it best to err, if at all, on the side of profusion :—

NOTIFICATION.

UNITED STATES' CONSULATE,
AMOY AND THE DEPENDENCIES THEREOF,
JUNE 16, 1874.

All citizens of the United States are hereby notified and warned to at once withdraw from the Japanese armed expedition now operating in the island of Formosa, and hereafter to avoid any connection with that enterprise, under penalty of arrest and trial for violation of the laws of neutrality.

J. J. HENDERSON, United States' Consul.

By instruction from Hon. S. WELLS WILLIAMS, United States' Chargé d'Affaires, Peking.

The obvious misapprehensions under which the instructions ordaining this notification must have been issued, although they could hardly excuse its promulgation, served as sufficient justification for the indifference with which it was received. And, in fact, had any serious attention been paid to it, the result would have been more awkward, if possible, for the consular authorities in China than that which ultimately befel them. Their right to interfere in this and other ways was not recognized by their superiors in Washington, and the circumstance of their interference being in this instance disregarded undoubtedly saved them from considerable embarrassments. The messenger brought little news beyond what seemed a somewhat exaggerated account of the excitement in Amoy, which, he said, amounted to a positive panic among the native merchants, some of whom had wound up their affairs and made ready for flight in anticipation of an attack by the Japanese.

Immediately after the return of the Commissioners Shen and Pan to China, for further consultation with their government, all active movements in the Southern peninsula were discontinued. General Saigo kept positive faith with his recent visitors, and suspended his arrangements for the establishment of new camps in various positions. At the same time, meetings for the continuance of discussions which were commenced before the Chinese visitors arrived, were still held between the chiefs of the Botan and Kusukut villages and certain Japanese officers. These savages did not hesitate to acknowledge themselves beaten and broken, and their habitual attitude was now one of humility. They were assured that, for a time, at least, no further rigor would be exercised toward them, and the "head-"men" were invited to come to the camp on the same terms as those of the well-disposed rulers further south. But they could not feel sufficient confidence for this. The friendly savages said that the Botans had been ashamed to come in contact even with them, ever since their defeat and dispersal.

CHAPTER XXX.

STORM ON THE FORMOSA COAST—HASTY FLIGHT—INVOLUNTARY TRIP TO AMOY —PANIC AMONG THE CITIZENS—ACTION OF THE UNITED STATES' OFFICERS— LETTER FROM THE VICE ROY AT FU KIEN—CHINESE DREAD OF AMERICAN CO-OPERATION—FALLACY OF CLAIMS OF JURISDICTION—REPEATED OFFICIAL DENIALS.

EARLY in July, I had a practical experience of the irresistible violence of the Formosa Channel storms at this season of the year. On the afternoon of the 6th, I went on board the steam-ship "Takasago-Maru" to prepare for a final departure from the Japanese Camp in Formosa; which promised little, from that time, in the way of attraction, and which, though the danger was not then suspected, presently became a scene of wretchedness and desolation through the ravages of an epidemic from which hardly an individual of the party escaped entirely unharmed.

Toward the evening, a heavy westerly wind set in, which rendered landing next to impossible. On the following morning an attempt was made to send a steam-launch on shore, but the little craft soon became unmanageable and was obliged to anchor half way between the ship and the beach. A little after noon, the "Takasago's" anchors were found to be dragging, and the vessel driving upon the low rocks that fringe the insecure road stead. Thecables were slipped, and the steamer started away as speedily as might be in the direction of the Pescadores Islands, one of which contains an excellent harbor. But as the night advanced the gale increased to such an extent that it was thought imprudent to search for this refuge, and the course was shaped for Amoy, at which port we arrived

in due season, after a great deal of discomfort, but, I presume, no particular danger. The "Takasago" was formerly the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship "Delta," an old but serviceable vessel, which the Japanese might have been glad to possess, if they had wanted any of the sort at all. But they did not. She was purchased under pressure of circumstances occasioned by the action of the United States' Legation, at Tokio. It was one of the compulsory bargains which the stoppage of the steamship "New "York" at Nagasaki, in April, had rendered inevitable.

This involuntary visit to Amoy afforded the opportunity of examining the real state of feeling among the inhabitants, and of inquiring as to the causes that might have led to the Consul's action in issuing the notification heretofore mentioned. In regard to the former, it appeared that the reports of a partial panic, among the lower classes, if not among some of the higher, were not without foundation. I am by no means sure that it was not, to an extent, shared by the local authorities. At any rate, no official attempt appeared to have been made toward arresting it. Not a few of the populace had really gone into the interior, and it was said to be perfectly true that numbers of merchants had suspended their traffic, in anticipation of the necessity for sudden flight. A single incident served to show the current of popular feeling. One of the servants attached to the American Consulate was so confident of the impending invasion that he petitioned Mr. Henderson to be allowed to bring his aged father and mother under the protection of the United States, and lodge them, for a time, in one of the outbuildings of the establishment. In Taiwan Fu, the principal city of Formosa, the trepidation was said to be even greater, and junk-loads of fugitives were coming over to the main land each week. If all this was as represented,—and much of it undoubtedly was,—the unusual preparations of the Chinese were probably the real cause. So much bustle and confusion, and so much pretence of military concentration, had not been known in this part of China for generations.

With regard to the action of the United States' officials at or near Amoy, I am strongly inclined to the belief that it was purely formal, up to this time, and in one sense merely nominal. I found no reason to change the opinion formed during an earlier visit, respecting Mr. Henderson's views upon the subject of the chastisement of the savages by the Japanese. And I could not help reminding myself, although I certainly was not directly reminded by him, that the notification before quoted was issued "by in-"struction from the Chargé d'Affaires at Peking." The Consul informed me that his attention was first seriously called to the matter by a communication from the Viceroy at Fu Kien, the mere transmission of which showed how deeply the official mind of China had at last become impressed by current events, inasmuch as direct epistolary intercourse between a Viceroy and a foreign Consul was almost, if not entirely, without precedent. The little Japanese enterprise had already broken down Chinese traditions in more than one respect. As an example of the style of this new order of correspondence, I was permitted to copy a translation of the Viceroy's letter, which is herewith reproduced, with the exception of a few opening lines of courteous greeting:—

"Now we have investigated this Formosa business, as well as the "statements of the Taotai of Formosa and the captain of the *Yang-wu*, "to the effect that this expedition to the savages of Formosa has been "planned by the former Consul at Amoy, Le Gendre; also one Cassel and "many others were assisting. We have also examined and found that "Formosa has long belonged to China, and the savages are certainly under "Chinese jurisdiction, and other nations have nothing to do with them. On "this occasion, Japan has sent soldiers to punish the savages without pre-"vious consultation with the Foreign Office, and the Japanese Commander-"in-chief, without awaiting a communication from me, on his own motion "took soldiers and formed a camp at Liangkiao, in entire violation both of "International Law and the Treaty between China and Japan. We twice

"sent communications to the Commander-in-chief, requiring him to take "back his soldiers, and twice sent communications to the Board of Trade "to be presented to your honorable self, to be examined and acted on; all "of which are on file. We have received your dispatch, in which you "show your desire to carry out Treaty obligations, and, in settling matters, "to preserve lasting peace and friendship, as well as your purpose to "perform your duties; for all which we desire to express our hearty thanks. "We have appointed Shen, second in the Board of Trade, and formerly "Acting Prefect of Fu Chao to go to Amoy, and also have sent a com- "munication to Li, Admiral at Amoy, telling him to await the coming of "Shen and then with him have a consultation with the U. S. Consul, and "together concert some plan of action. And in accordance with the "provisions of Art. I. of the Treaty of the 1st year of Hienfung (1858), "that the two countries shall mutually assist in preserving friendly relations, "we ask your honorable self to request the Commander to take his soldiers "back to Japan. And if in the vessels that have gone to Formosa there "are American citizens aiding the Japanese, we ask you to punish those "that are acting improperly, whether on land or sea, in accordance with "the 11th article of the Treaty and the laws of your country. From the "time when your honorable self arrived in China, you have always managed "affairs in strict accordance with right, so that the streets are full of "praises of yourself by rulers and people, and ourselves are truly thankful. "Now that there are affairs in Formosa, over which you are Consul, you "can show your friendly feelings by acting in accordance with the Treaty, "and by taking measures in connection with Admiral Li and Prefect Shen. "Thus can you show friendly feeling. We have sent a communication to "Admiral Li, and also one to Prefect Shen, ordering him to go to Amoy "and arrange the whole affair with you, for which purpose we give them "full powers. And we request you to act with these two, not only as "officials but as friends. Hoping thus, with best regards, etc., etc., etc."

In the interview which followed, all these subjects were discussed with greater freedom than would naturally have been possible in a series of letters. The Chinese appeared to be firmly of the opinion that if the Americans were withdrawn from the expedition the whole affair would fall through of itself. They could not have entertained a greater delusion. Whatever assistance may have been afforded by Americans in the execution of certain details, the entire spirit and resolution of the enterprise, from first to last, proceeded from the Japanese. But with a view to the removal of the former, the Chinese were extremely anxious that Mr. Henderson should himself visit Formosa, armed with all his authority—which he saw no sufficient reason for doing. Their anxiety for the despatch of the warning documents was not satisfied by the assurance that copies had already gone by the way of Takao. They desired to have duplicates, or additional notifications, specially sent; and offered to supply the means of carrying them across. This was the occasion of the circumstance which at the time seemed so extraordinary,—the arrival of a U. S. Deputy Marshal, on an official errand, in a Chinese man-of-war. The two functionaries appeared to be more acutely concerned about General Le Gendre's connection with the business than about any other detail. The fact that he had formerly been United States' Consul at Amoy, would, to their minds, warrant Mr. Henderson in taking particularly peremptory steps in his case. Mr. Henderson endeavored to show them that General Le Gendre's position differed in no way from that of any other citizen, similarly placed, but apparently failed to satisfy them. As regarded the legal aspect of the case he did not conceal his opinion that neither the act of 1818 nor that of 1860 was applicable in this instance, no war having been declared, and no hostile action against China having been committed by the Japanese; while the savage inhabitants of Formosa assuredly could not come under the designation of a nation with whom the United States are at peace. Of his convictions upon this subject, Mr. Henderson made no secret, in the middle,

or, to be more particular, on the 9th and 10th, of July. That he had communicated these convictions to the native authorities, he was perfectly free in stating. I am aware that his subsequent action, on the 6th of August, when he caused General Le Gendre to be arrested, indicated a totally different state of feeling; but this, as I have once before observed, is one of the mysteries of United States' official action upon which no sufficient light has yet been thrown. The explanations thus far afforded by the published correspondence upon the subject cannot certainly be regarded as sufficient.

As another evidence of the importance they attached to the co-operation of General Le Gendre, it may be mentioned that the provincial rulers of Fuchao had just caused a formal proposition to be transmitted to that gentleman, inviting him to desert the Japanese service, and enter theirs, upon pecuniary terms which they fancied would be sufficient to dazzle the eyes of any attaché and render him blind to a proper sense of integrity. Offering money and infamy with the same hand, they strove to outweigh the latter consideration by the vastness of the prize which they tendered. The communication was made through a former clerk of the United States' Consulate, and was received in Tokio about this date. In what manner it was received it is, of course, needless to say.

It was already evident that, by those who blindly opposed the movements of the Japanese, a strong point would be made of the assumption of Chinese authority, tardy as it was, over the whole island and people of Formosa. That this declaration was an after-thought, and a very late after-thought, there could be no question. The proofs were too clear and numerous. That it was not an after-thought of Chinese origin, but was prompted by foreign diplomatists, was the universal conviction, and this belief will in time be amply sustained by evidence, although the testimony is at present difficult of access. Meanwhile, let me invite a comparison of the positive statements of Commissioner Pan Wi, in his interview with General Saigo, and the concurrent assertion of the Viceroy at Fu Kien in his letter

to Mr. Henderson—"the savages are certainly under Chinese jurisdiction" —with the avowals of a letter from the Fuchao Board of Trade to the U. S. Consul, in 1867, which I was shown in the records at Amoy. The subject under discussion was the case of the bark "Rover," in regard to which the Consul had endeavored to arouse the Chinese to a sense of their supposed responsibilities. The officers of the Board of Trade wrote (June, 1867) first to say that the Chinese would undoubtedly be obliged to make reparation in all cases where outrages were committed in Chinese territory or Chinese waters, and continued as follows;—"But as in the 'Rover' "case the Americans were not murdered in Chinese territory or in Chinese "Seas, but in a region occupied by the savages, relief cannot be asked for "them under the Treaty. The savage territory does not come within the "limits of our jurisdiction." * * * "We believe those savages to be "wild animals with whom any one would disdain to contend."

What more than this is needed to show the worthlessness of the sudden assumption of universal authority in Formosa, or to shatter the pretensions of those who endeavored to hold up the Japanese to obloquy as the invaders of established and acknowledged Chinese rights? If anything, then it can be found in a later despatch from the Board of Trade (January 12th, 1868) in which the officers of that institution and the Prefect of Fuchao united in making a distinct acknowledgment of the right of foreign nations to deal with the savages directly, and without Chinese intervention, and even advised the methods best to be adopted in thus dealing with them. The document is too long for transcription, but its terms are clear and unmistakeable, and apply as precisely to the Japanese expedition as they would to any visit by ships from European or American countries. And, if still further evidence were required, I am enabled to say upon Mr. Henderson's authority, that, as recently as the month of May, 1874, after the departure of the first ships of the fleet, and, unless I am greatly mistaken, after the arrival of the "Yuko-maru" in Liangkiao Bay,

the Chinese Admiral at Amoy, in a conversation with the United States' Consul, reiterated the old denial of liability, and again declared that his government admitted no accountability for the deeds of the savage inhabitants of Formosa. The newly-assumed position, therefore, dated from a later period than the Japanese action against which it was intended to stand as a conclusive and substantial argument. It was an *ex post facto* inspiration of the most transparent description. And I repeat, that there was hardly a candid observer to be found who did not, and who does not still, believe that it was not the natural outgrowth of the established Chinese policy, but was suggested and developed by foreigners who acted upon the conviction that their interest lay in fomenting discord between these two nations of the east.

CHAPTER XXXI.

LAST VIEW OF FORMOSA—ASPECT OF THE CAMPS—IMPERIAL COMPLIMENTS TO SAIGO—THE WORK ALREADY DONE—JAPAN FIGHTS SINGLE HANDED—THE OCEAN HIGHWAY NOW SECURE—NAGASAKI—PUBLIC FEELING THROUGHOUT JAPAN—THE NATION AROUSED.

As soon as fair weather returned, the "Takasago" put back to Formosa, to complete the arrangements for transferring certain officers and a number of invalids to Japan. A part of the few hours that she remained there I devoted to a last visit to the two camps on the shore of Liangkiao Bay. Their appearance was, of course, unchanged, and the ordinary routine of their existence contiuued the same as ever, for the soldiers were, naturally, yet unaware of prospective results of negotiations that might withdraw them from the scene, and the authorities were not disposed to look upon anything as definitely settled until they should receive assurances to that effect from their government. The streets of the Kame Yama station, which always was more like a pleasant village than a military post, were partially filled with careless promenaders and purchasers of luxuries or necessaries at the several shops that had been established, the barber's stalls were thronged with the usual seekers and purveyors of gossip, and the wrestling ground in front of head-quarters was occupied by groups of officers discussing the new situation of affairs and the possible contingencies of the future. Among these latter the only doubts as to an easy solution of the whole Formosa question seemed to arise from an uncertainty respecting the ability or disposition of the Chinese to adhere to their pledges. That these doubts were not unreasonable, the course of the Peking rulers, during the two

months following, supplied a disagreeable proof. Within the General's house strange visitors, whose dress indicated high rank, were visible. These were messengers who had been specially sent by the Mikado to bring congratulations to the Commander-in-chief for the success of his operations. They were Hojio, an ex-daimio, and at that period attached to the Imperial household, and two others, connected with the War Department. The lanes at the back of the encampment were active with the customary wandering native merchants of both sexes, bearing their stores of traffic on heads and shoulders, walking with supernatural erectness and making the valley resound with their cries, which had come into fashion again, the rules against them having been tacitly suspended. The sea beach in front of the settlement was a scene of some desolation. Many boats had been destroyed by the storm of the 7th and 8th, including the steam launch, which had vainly attempted to make its way from the "Takasago" to the shore, and the sands were strewn with their fragments.

The heat was still fierce and unrelenting, and I need hardly say that no sensation of regret shadowed my own departure from this arid and inhospitable soil. To a casual passer, unacquainted with the real miseries of the place, the little clusters of cottages might offer an agreeable and even an inviting picture; but to one who had endured an enfeebling sojourn of two months among them they suggested little in a personal way besides recollections of discomfort. In a broader sense they had, perhaps, a better and higher significance, for they represented the only approach to genuine humanity and civilization that had been displayed upon this island, and, so long as they should be suffered to last by whoever might take final possession of them, they would stand as the record of a mission that had done a good work, not only for the country which planned and performed it, but for the whole community of nations. It was already certain that, whatever else might betide, the passage of the Formosa coast was from that time free from its worst peril. There would be no more slaughter of

unhappy castaways, and neither England nor America need again be troubled by the consciousness of a duty hastily undertaken and as speedily thrown aside. The task which they had not thought it worth while to enter upon with real decision and determination had now been executed by Japan; and, literally in spite of them—or their representatives in the East—their own wrongs had been avenged by a little Empire in whose path they piled every obstacle that ingenuity or audacity could suggest. Twice within the past three years Japan had rendered a service to humanity, in defiance of the combined and threatening hostility of the authorized delegates from almost every Power that holds relations with its government. In 1872, it fought the fight against the coolie trade so gallantly that the infamy of that barbarous traffic no longer darkens the earth. And now it had cleared the highway of the Pacific of a danger and a dread which had hung over it for a quarter of a century. Thanks to Japan, if nothing else on her own behalf could be accomplished, there would at least be no more "Rover" massacres to lament and leave unredressed. From the day of Saigo's departure from Formosa, the savages of that island would cease to be a terror to Eastern voyagers. The worst of them had been punished for the past and all of them had learned their lesson for the future. Their power to harm was broken forever,—unless it might be to harm those who had so long neglected the duty of restraining their wild excesses and who were still held in contempt by them—and it would be with a just pride that Japan could look back upon the achievement and say, as the ancient conqueror said, "Alone I did it."

Upon arriving at Nagasaki, toward the end of July, I found that usually placid little town in the high fever of patriotic excitement which was already beginning to manifest itself throughout the country. No idea as to the nature of the secret negociations in progress had been obtained by the public, and it was known only that China had suddenly been moved to assert a right of interference in some way utterly offensive to the

sense of Japanese dignity and national right. The character of the people is such that the mere suspicion of such an affront was all that was needed to rouse them to a state of exasperation. At that moment they had no clear view of the means by which they should demonstrate their consciousness of injury, but one general proposition was maintained, that China had attempted to impede the sovereign progress of Japan, and China must straightway be humbled. Of course the government would take good heed concerning the methods to be employed, and whatever the government might decide upon must of necessity be right; but if the rulers at Tokio could only be influenced a little by the mind and voice of the people, the course they would adopt should be a very direct and emphatic one. And there were many signs, just then, that pointed to a probable fulfilment of this intense popular desire. The great activity in naval movements, and the large preparations that were gradually accumulating at Nagasaki were among these. It was natural that the untutored community should fail to recognise that even if the government were wholly disinclined to warlike operations on a broad scale, the best and most effective measures for honorably averting their necessity were the prompt organization and development of ample defensive and offensive resources. All that they saw was, that great works were going on; and to share in these works was all that they desired.

Along the route from the southern port to the capital, the same tokens of alacrity and vivid expectation were everywhere apparent. Each provincial capital was in a flutter of eagerness that presently grew to as fervent and noble an impulse of devotion as ever thrilled through any land. In Tokio itself, as was not unnatural, the popular mind was calmer. Here the discreet reticence of the government officials acted as a restraint upon the passionate demonstrations that were elsewhere subject to no check. But the feeling was not less deep, though it was less vehement in its expression. It was plainly apparent that, if the apprehensions respecting

Chinese evasions in the adjustment of the superfluous difficulty they had raised should be realized, and a real cause of hostility should arise therefrom, the call of the government upon the people to sustain it would be answered with no unwilling voice. And, as is not uncommon in such periods of national exaltation, this exuberant enthusiasm was tempered by no feeling but that of absolute confidence that the fortunes of Japan would triumph in whatever struggle might await her.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ATTITUDE OF THE ADMINISTRATION—PACIFIC INCLINATIONS—MISSION OF GENERAL LE GENDRE TO FU KIEN—ARREST AND RELEASE—FORMAL DISAPPROVAL OF UNITED STATES' OFFICIALS—OKUBO'S NEW FIELD OF DUTY.

THESE gratifying manifestations of the popular determination to sustain the government through the difficulties it might be required to encounter, while they proved the existence of a sufficient basis of support in the last necessity, could not be allowed to directly influence the action of the administration, at this point of affairs. The first purpose of the rulers at Tokio was now to bring the operations, which had thus far been attended with complete success, to a satisfactory and peaceful end. This single interruption to a thorough good understanding with China had been wholly contrary to their desires, and had been brought about by means for which they could not be held responsible; but they were still resolved to spare no effort to tranquillize the uneasy susceptibilities of that querulous nation, which had been so unexpectedly roused from its habitual torpor and persuaded to assert, in a dreamy and uncertain way, claims which it did not yet clearly comprehend and which it never intended to seriously maintain. Accordingly, they gave no encouragement to the few outcries for immediate war which were heard, and devoted themselves to the organization of such measures as would place the empire in a sound and efficient condition, in case the final resort to extremities should become inevitable. The position assumed by the government rapidly came to be understood and accepted by the country; and after the first ebullition of anger, the general feeling shaped itself into an earnest and unbroken series of efforts

to co-operate in the public policy which was frankly proclaimed.

An important measure in the interest of peace was taken at the end of July, as soon as the new attitude of the Chinese government had been clearly defined and fathomed. This was the despatch of General Le Gendre to the south of China, with instructions to proceed to Fuchao and enter upen a series of explanatory negociations with the Viceroy at Fu Kien. He was not suffered even to begin this labor. Upon arriving at Amoy, through which place it was necessary for him to pass, he was forcibly arrested by the Marshal of the United States' Consulate, assisted by officers and marines of the ship "Yantic." The circumstances of the seizure and detention were aggravated by many conditions which were apparently intended to be humiliating, but the harshness of which ultimately recoiled upon the originators of the action. He was prevented from visiting Fuchao, and was sent to Shanghai, where he was immediately released, with the same disregard of forms and explanations as that which had accompanied his arrest. The opportunity for the effective fulfilment of the duties assigned to him had now passed, and he made no effort to return to Fu Kien. What those duties were, and to what extent their successful execution would probably have affected the issue, it would now be useless to reconsider. But it may not be out of place to say that this second unwarranted interference in the movements of those whom the Japanese had attached to their service was at least as mischievous in its immediate consequences as the first less flagrant intrusion of the United States' Minister, in Tokio, and entailed even greater possibilities of material calamity, the worst of which, happily, were never realized.

Inasmuch as the action of every official connected with this arbitrary and illegal exercise of Consular authority was instantly repudiated in the strongest terms of which diplomatic condemnation is possible, short of positive dismissal from the public service, it is unnecessary to bestow further attention upon it than to reiterate the regret, which was then universally

expressed by impartial citizens of America in the East, that the reputation of their country should have been sullied and its influence imperilled by the painful and mortifying display of ignorance and incapacity in which the Consul General at Shanghai assumed the leading part and throughout which he was assisted, with various manifestations of moral encouragement and practical efficacy, by his nominal superior at Peking and subordinate at Amoy. The course of the Japanese agents at Amoy and Shanghai, in the trying and novel situation, was such as to suggest a series of awkward and unpleasantly significant comparisons between the official demeanor, not less than the sagacity and ability, of the inexperienced but prudent and conscientious representatives of the Eastern Empire and the more startling, if not more admirable characteristics of the servants of the Western Republic.

A few days after the departure of General Le Gendre for the south of China, the eminent Minister, Okubo Tosimiti, was again called from the duties of his regular office to undertake a new and more important work than any that had before been entrusted to him. The position was felt to be already critical, and that it might speedily become more so, was obvious to all who were aware of the obstinacy with which the Chinese would undoubtedly adhere to their new theories, having been once driven to the point of declaring them. It was determined to send this trusted counsellor, who had given so many proofs of ability in the most complicated exigencies, upon a special mission to Peking, with instructions to assume the entire direction of affairs, on the side of Japan, and with full powers to act in the name of the Emperor, to the extremest limit of judgment and decision. If the threatening disturbances could be set aside by any combination of caution and firmness, it was believed that he, better than any other could secure that end. At the same time, it was thoroughly well known that no step calculated to lessen the national dignity in any degree would be sanctioned by him. The announcement of his appointment which was made on the 5th of August, was received with universl gratification.

Okubo landed at Tien Tsin on the 2nd of September, where he was immediately joined by General Le Lendre, who from that time continued to act as a member of the commission of which the Japanese ambassador was the chief. After a brief sojourn at this outpost, the party started, on the 6th, for Peking, in which city they arrived on the 10th.

It will not be out of place to remark that shortly after the intelligence of China's assumption of the new position was received in Japan, the United States' Minister thought it expedient to order the publication of a notice warning American citizens "against engaging in any hostile acts" toward that government, "under such penalties as are provided by statute "and of forfeiture of the rights of citizenship." Notwithstanding all the assurances, both personal and official, that he had received, Mr. Bingham still preferred to rely and to act upon the groundless suggestions of his own fancy. He is now doubtless aware that no American contemplated any "hostile act" toward China. It is proper to say that the functionary through whom this proclamation was put forth Mr. Mitchell, the Vice Consul at Yokohama, was by no means satisfied with the duty thrust upon him, having different views of the necessities of the case, and preferriug that Mr. Bingham should declare and exerciee, in his own name, whatever power might belong to him. The position of a Consular officer, under such circumstances, is extremely embarrassing. If he decline to execute the orders of a Minister, he is subjected to sharp criticism. If on the other hand, he executes an order that is afterward disapproved by the State Department, he is subjected to reprimand, and is not allowed to plead the excuse of having acted under superior authority.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

COMPLICATED DIPLOMACY—VAGARIES OF PAN WI—YANAGIWARA IN PEKING —PROTRACTED DEBATES—ADVENT OF OKUBO—A NEW DEPARTURE—EFFORTS TO DISCOVER THE TRUE CHINESE POSITION—UNPROFITABLE RESULTS.

THE complications which it was Okubo's task to unravel were not solely due to the mere fact of China's assumption of authority over the whole of Formosa. The peculiar manner in which the claim had been asserted, and the disingenuous course pursued by the Chinese officials in their various endeavors to establish it, had long before this introduced a number of awkward features into the transaction which made the labor of adjustment doubly arduous. It has been related how the assistant Commissioner Pan Wi left the Japanese Minister Yanagiwara with assurances that he would report to his superior, Shen, the expediency of avoiding needless discussions with General Saigo and of bringing the issue directly before the diplomatic agents of the two governments; and how these promises were neglected. This was not the last, nor the worst, of his departures from a straightforward line of action. Early in June, he caused to be sent to China a statement that he had himself arranged affairs with the savages, and obtained from Saigo a declaration that he was ready to return to Japan, with his troops, "at the first command of his government." This was communicated to Yanagiwara by the Taotai at Shanghai on the 8th of July, with an air of conviction that the whole business was thereby settled; but the Minister had received an accurate version of the proceedings from Saigo, and was not misled by the misrepresentations; as, indeed, he was not likely to have been under any circumstances. He showed the Taotai

the impossibility of placing reliance upon any of his assurances, and as it was now obvious that no good purpose could be served by a further delay in Shanghai, started at once for Peking, to negociate thenceforward with the Tsung li Yamen. He reached Tien Tsin on the 24th of July, where he met and exchanged a few passages of controversy with Li Hung Chang, the Viceroy of the Chili provinces and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and then proceeded to the capital, where he arrived on the 31st.

His early communications with the Tsung li Yamen were embarrassed by the interposition of several despatches from the late visitors to Formosa, Shen and Pan, who continued to declare that a distinct settlement had been effected in the island, subject only to a recognition of agreement to the terms by themselves and Yanagiwara. Although this was known to be an incorrect representation of the affair, it was spoken of by the Chinese as a matter of fact, and used as the basis of several of their most elaborate arguments. But their chief topic, upon which they were never weary of dilating, was their right to the whole of Formosa and the impropriety of another nation's venturing to take up a position upon any part of its soil. This was the unchanging burden of every letter and every harangue. It was soon apparent that progress in the discussions was not only impossible but was really not desired by the Chinese authorities, their object apparently being to weary out the patience of the Minister by repeated delays. But their opportunity of persisting in this policy was brought to a close by the arrival of Okubo, in whose hands the general direction of the business was immediately placed. Holding full powers, he was not under the necessity of making frequent reference to the home government for counsel and direction, and the negociations were enabled to proceed with fewer obstructions than before, although the Chinese officials still found methods of unduly retarding them.

The opening interview between the new Japanese Commissioner and the Tsung li Yamen took place on the 14th of September. The first

statement presented by Okubo was to the effect that he had examined the records of the several conferences and of the correspondence that had thus far passed, and discovered that they amounted only to the argument on the part of the Chinese that aboriginal Formosa belonged to their government, and on the part of Yanagiwara that the territory in question was independent. He then proceeded to set forward his own views upon the subject, briefly and pertinently, and concluded by submitting two propositions, the first of which was that, although claiming jurisdiction over the savages, China had never taken steps to govern or reform them; the second, that if the alleged power of control existed and failed to be exercised, it was not possible for China to escape the accusation of virtually encouraging the natives in their barbarous acts toward shipwrecked people.

On the 16th, a second conference was held, in which answers were given upon these points; and it may surprise even those who are familiar with the extent to which Chinese audacity can be carried, to learn that it was boldly asserted that China had "improved the manners" of the aborigines, "organized their communities," "educated those who had good and intel-"ligent dispositions," and "actually established government over them." It was, however, admitted that the "policy was to civilize them, not by "hasty and precipitate measures, but gradually and steadily." With regard to the question of maltreatment of castaways, it was stated that, if ships, belonging to any foreign nation should be wrecked and the sailors injured, and if the Ministers of those nations should demand satisfaction, "minutely "setting forth the circumstances attending each event," China "would exam-"ine into such affairs and would never neglect them." "Consequently," it was added, "if your government had written minutely about the present "matter, our Yamen would have taken the proper measures to examine "into and settle it. Then our Yamen would have established proper laws "over the savages, and would have instructed them to protect foreigners in "future." And these declarations were presented by the officials with grave

faces, and with that calm assumption of unconsciousness of having uttered a monstrosity, which Chinese councillors alone can command. After a few questions from Okubo, relating to the positive evidence upon which the Yamen relied for their assertions of authority over savage Formosa, this meeting was dissolved.

The discussion was renewed on the 19th, when Okubo plainly expressed his dissatisfaction with the above replies, and submitted a document containing questions upon other subjects which required explanation. The officers of the Yamen somewhat petulantly complained that if their recent exposition of views was not all that was needed, they could see no prospect of a termination to the debate. Their attention having been previously called to certain recognized points of International Law, they stated that such codes had only been recently compiled by Europeans, and that, "there "being no mention of China in them, they intended to negociate without "adopting any of the opinions therein contained." The speculations which followed were of too rambling and often incoherent a character to make it worth while to reproduce them in detail. Some of the statements were not, however, without significance. Among them was the following: "As "to the evidence concerning aboriginal Formosa, we fear there may be "some obscure points in it; but henceforward, we will extend our laws "and administration over the territory of the savages, restrain their wicked "and violent actions, and take such measures as will preserve forever the "friendly relations between the two countries. If, on the contrary, you "will not consent to entrust our government with the management of the "present affair, we will then have nothing more to say." The Japanese Commissioner replied that, respecting the evidence spoken of, none whatever had been produced, and that until some substantial proof of the Chinese position had been offered, he should continue to dispute it. Extending his arguments to the question of the interests of all countries, he said: "Now that communication is established between the Eastern and Western

"worlds, safety and protection must be accorded to the navigators of all "nations. Formosa is a very important island in the direct highway of "commerce, but its people are like pirates in their practices."

From this point, the exchange of documents and spoken opinions continued, at intervals, through the month of September. They could hardly be called discussions in any large sense, for the Chinese confined themselves almost exclusively to voluminous reassertions of the statement to which they had now bound themselves, in various new forms of phraseology, but never accompanied by the evidence that was asked for or by any attempts at refutation of evidence brought forward on the other side. Upon one occasion, in consequence of the ignorance of International Law that had already been professed by the Yamen, Okubo presented the members a condensed translation of the code, for their future reference. During this period, there is reason to believe that all the sagacity and composure that the Japanese could command were necessary to give assurance of their determination at once to strive for an amicable result and yet to abate nothing of their just demands. On the 5th of October, the tone adopted by the Chinese officials became almost menacing, apparently in consequence of the rejection of a proposal for arbitration which they had presented. They even went so far as to intimate that the Commissioner would do well to return home at once, while he could do so with safety. Okubo said: "As to your question whether we will consent to the interference of "some person commissioned by a foreign power, in the affairs concerning "our dominions, we reply that we shall never permit this to be done, as it "is a very grave matter affecting our national sovereignty. If you hold "that further discussions are impossible, and will not answer my questions, "our conferences shall end today, and the object of my mission (the desire "of maintaining the friendly relations between the two governments) shall "be arrested here."

This day had been fixed for the final disposition of the whole subject,

but the unexpected temper displayed by the Chinese rendered it inpossible to bring matters to a conclusion. The meeting terminated with an announcement on the part of Okubo that he purposed starting at the earliest opportunity for Japan, in order to report all the circumstances to his government. He was afterward induced to reconsider this determination, and the officers of the Yamen endeavored, with some show of courtesy, to mitigate the unfavorable effect of the demonstration they had made. They suggested that the unpleasant observations that had passed should not be included in the record of transactions. This advance was responded to equal courtesy, but the proposition to amend the record was declined, the Japanese Commissioner insisting that in this series of negociations, no opportunity should be afforded for accusations of concealment or misrepresentation in the slightest particular. It was subsequently decided, at the request of the Chinese, that any unpleasant consequence likely to be produced might be rectified by correspondence, but not by alteration of the reports.

returned on the 14th, and on the 15th, at noon, an answer was forwarded which, though not in all respects sufficient, showed a decided inclination to bring the matter to a satisfactory end. Another meeting was arranged for the 18th, at Okubo's apartments, in which the Chinese, while still expressing a desire to avoid discussing the question of their right to Southern Formosa, said they were willing to acknowledge that they had been negligent and to offer a sum of money as a compensation for the slaughter of the Riu Kiuans. This appearing to be a step in advance, the Japanese Commissioner declared his willingness to reopen the negociations; but on the 19th a note came from the Yamen, stating that a difficulty had arisen, and they could not undertake to carry through the settlement in the way they had themselves suggested, although they now took pains to recognize the expedition as a rightful one. Their exact words were; "You "came originally by right." The special point of objection raised was that, while they were willing to pay an indemnity for losses sustained by Japan, they could not consent to subscribe to a written obligation to that effect, nor to deliver the amount that might be decided upon until after the troops had been withdrawn from Formosa. They were even opposed to any discussion as to the precise sum, virtually insisting that this should be left to the discretion of the Chinese government. The rejoinder to these propositions was open and emphatic. It was thus expressed:—

"If you desire to obtain possession of the territory now occupied by "our troops, you must of course be bound by an obligation toward us. Our "government requires some satisfaction. What satisfaction do you mean "to give? I cannot order the evacuation of Formosa by our troops in "return for the measures proposed by you. Of course I do not covet the "indemnity, but if I should not be able to clearly explain the steps to be "taken by you, and the amount of the indemnity, with what honor could "I report the result of my mission to my Emperor and meet my country-"men after my return to Japan? If you persist, there will be danger of a

"rupture of the conciliatory measures proposed by me. I might, for "myself, consent to your proposals, but what would my government and "my countrymen say? Your proposition that your Emperor will give us "satisfaction after the departure of our troops is quite contrary to the "conciliating spirit with which you profess to desire to bring these discus- "sions to a mutually satisfactory conclusion. Our government will not "place confidence in any diplomatic matter unless there be some written "evidence of it. How could I order the evacuation without any evidence "concerning your promise? If I should rely upon your words at the "present moment, and afterward there should be found in them some "points unsatisfactory to our government, we must again charge you "with a wrong, and some great difficulty might arise. I therefore want "some trustworthy written proofs."

This request for a documentary pledge, which, it will readily be understood, was the necessary consequence of previous attempts on the part of the Chinese to repudiate their declarations, was peremptorily refused. It was renewed on the 24th, and again rejected. On the 25th, Okubo sent what was intended to be a final letter, which contained the following expression of opinions:—

"Now I am quite hopeless and am about to leave. The notice given "to you of our intention to punish the aboriginal tribes was set at naught "by your Tsung li Yamen, and when we sent a Commissioner with troops "to take vengeance upon the tribes that had murdered our shipwrecked "people, and to remove the evils which threatened the navigators of those "seas, you afforded us no encouragement in our difficult and dangerous "task, but affected to be very proud of your mercy in not 'shooting "'an arrow at us.' Under these circumstances, our philanthropic action, to "our lasting regret, has been designated by you by the bad name of a "hostile deed, while our undertaking of punishing the savages arose only "from the necessity of protecting our own people. Henceforth, inside and

"back of the mountains, we shall continue to clear land, protecting those "tribes which submit to us, and punishing those who oppose us, and shall "complete our plan of action without permitting any molestation on the "part of your country. Finally, I have to say that as the present case "cannot be decided by arguments, each country must go its own way and "exercise its own rights of sovereignty. I do not wish to hear the further "explanations and arguments you may have to offer. I am in haste to "depart, and cannot go to your Tsung li Yamen to take leave of you."

Of all the public men of Japan, Okubo is probably the most conspicuous for qualities of forbearance and toleration. That he should have been forced to so decisive an utterance as the above is a convincing proof, at least to all who are acquainted with his character, that lenience and gentleness had been carried to their extremest limit, and that every honorable means of conciliation, on his part, had been exhausted. His selection for the duty he had thus far carried through had, indeed, been inspired by a thorough conviction that if he should fail in accomplishing a peaceful result, the nation would unite in recognizing that the obstacles must have been such that no exercise of just moderation could have overcome them.

Preparations were made for leaving Peking without delay. It does not appear that the Japanese Commissioner himself was under any apprehension that actual war would be the necessary result of the rupture of negociations. He had become sufficiently familiar with the devious artifices of Chinese diplomacy to understand that the attitude of Prince Kung and his associates, menacing as it now seemed, did not inevitably foreshadow an outbreak of hostilities. But he could hardly have foreseen the result which did ensue, or, foreseeing it, could not have calculated upon its arrival with such precipitate haste. On the afternoon of the 25th, General Le Gendre and a part of the suite set out upon their journey to Tien Tsin. Hearing of this, and of the fact that the withdrawal of the entire mission was imminent, Prince Kung went in haste to the residence of Mr. Wade, the

British Minister, and requested him to take a message to Okubo, which might have the effect of detaining the party. He offered, in distinct words, the first really acceptable terms of settlement that had come from the Chinese side, and offered them in a way that, this time, left little doubt as to the sincerity of his intentions. Mr. Wade promptly consented, and visited the Japanese Commissioner without delay. He stated that he was empowered to declare that there would now be no objection raised against Okubo's resolution to obtain written evidence of consent to the terms proposed; that one hundred thousand taels should be paid immediately "as "relief to the sufferers" (meaning the families of those who had been slaughtered in 1871, and the survivors) and four hundred thousand taels "as indemnity for the various expenses of the expedition," *after* the withdrawal of the troops. He added that the officers of the Yamen had requested him to give this information privately.

Being convinced that the purpose was, this time, to make a serious effort at adjustment, Okubo consented to defer his departure. He went on the same day to Mr. Wade's residence, and stated to him that, the amount of money to be paid being a secondary object, five hundred thousand taels would be received, subject to the following conditions:—The Formosa expedition must be publicly recognized as just and rightful, and the money must be paid *before* the withdrawal of the soldiers. Mr. Wade, again acting as a willing messenger, undertook to communicate this decision to the Chinese authorities. What sway he may have exerted over them, if any, has not been divulged. Upon the Japanese official he never exercised or attempted to exercise the slightest influence.

On the 27th, a draft of articles of agreement, prepared by the Yamen, was sent for inspection; and here Mr. Wade's relationship in the affair was really valuable to the Chinese, inasmuch as he was authorized to write a guarantee that they would not alter the terms of the documents. Without this pledge, after all that had passed, there would still have been some

hesitation in accepting their assurances. Thus fortified, it was, on the 30th, pronounced sufficient by Okubo, and, on the 31st of October, was duly signed and sealed at the office of the Tsung li Yamen.

The following is a translation, as strictly literal as is compatible with presentation in the usual English form, of the several papers that were then subscribed to.

AGREEMENT.

[Preamble.] Whereas, Okubo, High Commissioner Plenipotentiary of Japan, Sangi, Councillor of State and Secretary of the Interior Department [on the one part], and [names of Prince Kung and nine other Chinese officials] of the Tsung li Yamen of China [on the other part], having discussed the subject of Articles of Agreement and fixed the manner of their settlement; and it having been understood that the subjects of every nation must be duly protected from injury; that therefore every nation may take efficient measures for the security of its subjects; that if anything [injurious] happen within the limits of any state, that state should undertake the duty of reparation; that the aborigines of Formosa formerly committed outrages upon subjects of Japan; that Japan sent troops for the sole purpose of inflicting punishment on these aborigines, and that the troops are to be withdrawn, China assuming the responsibility of measures for the future; therefore, the following Articles have been drawn up and agreed upon:

ARTICLE I.

The present enterprise of Japan is a just and rightful proceeding, to protect her own subjects, and China does not designate it as a wrong action.

ARTICLE II.

A sum of money shall be given by China for relief to the families of the shipwrecked [Japanese] subjects that were maltreated. Japan has

constructed roads and built houses, etc., in that place. China, wishing to have the use of these for herself, agrees to make payment for them. The amount is determined by a special document.

ARTICLE III.

All the official correspondence hitherto exchanged between the two states shall be returned mutually, and be annulled, to prevent any future misunderstanding. As to the savages, China engages to establish authority, and promises that navigators shall be protected from injury by them.

The "special document" referred to in Article II. was made a separate subject of consideration chiefly because grave doubts existed as to the Chinese fulfilment of an agreement which would involve the complete surrender of their strongest points of objection. It was thought desirable by the Japanese Commissioner that the name of Mr. Wade, who had already (Oct. 27th) given a personal pledge that the terms of settlement should not be altered, should appear in testimony of his knowledge of China's submission in respect to the questions which had been disputed with so much persistency. It was consequently introduced in the subjoined

CONTRACT.

With regard to the question of Formosa, Mr. Wade, H. B. M.'s Minister, having spoken on the subject to the two parties, they, the said Commissioners of the two nations, have arranged for settlement thus:—

I.—China agrees that she shall pay the sum of one hundred thousand taels, for relief to the families of the subjects of Japan who were murdered.

II.—China wishes that, after Japan shall have withdrawn her troops, all the roads that have been repaired and all the houses that have been built, etc., shall be retained for her use; at the same time consenting to pay the sum of four hundred thousand taels by way of recompense; and it

is agreed that Japan shall withdraw all her troops, and China shall pay the whole amount without fail, by the 20th day of December, the seventh year of Meiji, with Japan, or on the 22nd day of the eleventh moon, the thirteenth year of Tung Chi, with China; but, in the event of Japan not withdrawing her troops, China shall not pay the amount.

This settlement having been concluded, each party has taken one copy of the contract as voucher.

With regard to certain peculiarities of phraseology in these documents, it is desirable to explain that the acceptance of the sums of money ostensibly as "relief" or "consolation," and as payment for improvements that were to be diverted to the use of China, was in consequence of repeated and urgent representations that the dignity of that nation would thereby be saved from a rude shock. Okubo had, naturally, at first spoken only of "indemnity;" but the Chinese were almost piteous in their appeals to be spared the humiliation that they fancied would be implied by the use of that word. There was no time, during the discussions, when Okubo showed himself unreasonably obdurate, and he was frequently ready to waive points of mere nominal formality, so long as the vital requirements of his duty should not be assailed. On the 21st of October he had written, in regard to the expenditures, as follows:—"Your country must be responsible, "but, to save appearances, you wish that 'consolation money' be paid to our "ill-treated countrymen by the special grace of your Emperor." And, on the 23d; "Your proposal that the compensation should take the name of "'consolation' was at first unsatisfactory; but, considering the circumstances "of your country, it has now been consented to." The Yamen unfortunately for themselves, were not altogether content to let the matter stand thus, and subsequently conceived the idea of suggesting that the larger share of the payment should be understood as having reference to the

roads and other works commenced or completed by the Japanese in Formosa. This also, was acceded to. But China, after the final departure of General Saigo, suddenly forgetful of her anxiety "to save appearances," ordered the immediate destruction of every vestige of Japanese occupation; so that the laborious structure of deceptive artifice fell to pieces by their own action. If they did not want the houses and other improvements, then the money could be regarded as nothing but a direct indemnity—small in amount, but sufficient to establish the principle; and that they did not want them, they proved by obliterating all traces of their existence as soon as they could lay hands on them.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE EFFECT IN JAPAN—TEMPER OF THE PEOPLE—SACRIFICES—JAPANESE PUBLIC SERVANTS—VIEWS OF FOREIGNERS—ABSENCE OF SYMPATHY—MR. WADE'S ALLEGED INTERCESSION—GOOD RESULTS FOR JAPAN.

THE news of the successful termination of the Peking conferences was welcomed in Japan with the liveliest satisfaction. The prospect of actual war was never attractive, except to a certain small and irresponsible class, which had neither opportunity nor inclination to estimate the possible consequences of so grave an event. Among the higher officers of the government, as well as the sober-minded people at large, there was always an earnest desire to avoid a positive conflict, but, at the same time, a rigid determination to maintain, in the firmest manner, the position assumed at the outset of the Formosa difficulties, and to vindicate the just claims of the nation, at whatever hazard of peril or sacrifice. Thus, while the negociations of the Commissioner in China were all directed toward a pacific solution of the questions in controversy, the energies of the authorities at home were applied to preparing the most thorough means of meeting the issue, in case hostilities could not be honorably averted. The inhabitants, of every degree, including the Mikado and his family, the nobles, and the mass of the people, offered voluntary contributions to the extent of their ability, for the support of the administration in the contemplated crisis. Large bodies of citizens enrolled themselves, without solicitation or suggestion, as volunteer troops, and urgently petitioned for the acceptance of their services in the field. A great part of the labor of the Department charged with this whole subject consisted in receiving and duly considering the offers of

material aid which poured in from all parts of the country. These were, with due acknowledgment, in all cases declined, but with the assurance that if the government should at a later period find itself in any degree embarrassed, such assistance would then be frankly asked for. The official records abundantly prove that the spontaneous enthusiasm awakened by the mere uncertain prospect of serving the nation in a time of public danger has hardly a parallel, unless it be in the more striking and momentous, but not more unselfish and sincere uprising of the multitudes in the United States of America at the outbreak of the Southern rebellion. I think that there were times when it was somewhat difficult for the officials who were most directly accessible to the evidences of popular feeling, in this crisis, to restrain themselves within the calm routine of their duty and preserve the outward aspect of indifference that was indispensable. The country was, however, admirably served in every branch of the labors that were connected with the Formosa episode. When vigorous resolution had been needed, as at Nagasaki, in the month of April, it was not found wanting. The manliest qualities were displayed in the leadership of the soldiers on the island. Prudence and firmness could not have been more effectively united than in the person of the Commissioner to Peking. And in the administration of the bureau of organization for operations of the most extensive description, in Tokio, the singularly apt abilities of a young officer, less exalted in station, but of well earned distinction in his industrious sphere, Hirai Yukimasa, were applied with a zeal and a discretion that sensibly contributed to the successful progress of events.

The spirit that was universally displayed often led to a belief, on the part of outside observers, that the authorities and the populace were alike resolved upon a contest, and were ready to provoke it, if necessary, by the adoption of the extremest measures. Such, however, was never the ase. The large accumulations of war material, the collection of formidable armaments at the points nearest to the Chinese coast, and the military

registration of the inhabitants of the empire were movements of precaution, essential to the safety of the state. They not only placed Japan in the position which it was necessary she should hold in the event of war, but they contributed in no small degree to the actual preservation of peace. The bold and confident attitude which she maintained from the beginning, which was the growth of a sincere conviction of the propriety of her course, could not be without weight in influencing the decision of the Chinese councillors. In all respects the action of Japan and her representatives was united and concentrated upon one point—the vindication of the right of the government to protect its subjects, to enforce redress for past outrages and to secure protection for the future. The manner in which this end should be attained was not always certain. There were moments when the apprehensions of those who chose to adopt a gloomy view of affairs seemed in some degree justified. But that it must be attained, by peaceful methods if possible, by arms if needful, was the unalterable resolution. Throughout the entire progress of affairs there were many who looked to no other conclusion than that which had now happily arrived, and these, perhaps, found the most genuine satisfaction of all, in the result. But among the whole people there was hardly a voice of discontent, either with the final arrangement or the means by which it was secured.

The foreign community, as may be supposed, did not take so undivided a view of the situation. Few expressions of hearty and unfeigned congratulation were heard. On the contrary, the recognition of Japan's success was, with one or two conspicuous exceptions, reluctant and constrained. Why it is that the progressive career of this country is regarded with steady aversion by a large proportion of the foreign residents is a question that might be answered without much difficulty, but which need not be here examined. The fact is indisputable. As a rule, the intelligence of the diplomatic victory was not cordially welcomed. The general interests of trade were bound up in the maintenance of peace, and on that

ground the adjustment of the troubles was admitted to be a public advantage; but that the credit of having accomplished a great and beneficial work—not only unaided, but in spite of many painful obstacles thrust in her way—should be gained by Japan, was contrary to the expectations and to the wishes of the majority of European denizens. It was in consequence of this feeling that a disposition was exhibited to wrest the distinction of the achievement from the Japanese Commissioner, to whom and to no other it strictly belonged, and fasten it upon this or that representative of Western governments—some of whom had certainly been sufficiently active in their interference, but not with the view of advancing the interests of Japan, nor, in a broad sense, the interests of civilization and humanity. It is quite enough to acknowledge them to have been animated by a sense of duty to their respective nationalities and to themselves. That they acted with any sort of regard for the embarrassments or anxieties of either Eastern country it is a simple absurdity to allege. A special effort was made to attribute the good fortune of the Japanese entirely to the intercession of the British Minister at Peking. The foregoing narrative of the history of the embassy, and the few citations from the official records, have probably been sufficient to show the fallacy of this assumption. If it should ever be found expedient to remove the seal of secresy from the entire mass of documentary evidence, the error will be still more conclusively demonstrated. It is as certain as any fact connected with the whole business can possibly be that not a single Minister, either in Japan or in China, acted a friendly or encouraging part toward the former at any period of these difficult transactions.

In one respect the success obtained by Okubo produced a more marked effect than the dashing little exploits of the troops under Saigo. Nobody, not even the most wilful of the skeptics, doubted the personal bravery of the Japanese, but many were disinclined to believe that the statecraft of the younger nation could prove itself a match for the wiles and cunning of

CHAPTER XXXVI.

OKUBO'S RETURN—AFFAIRS IN FORMOSA—DEVASTATIONS OF FEVER—MR. BINGHAM'S LAST WORD—SAIGO'S PROCLAMATIONS TO THE SAVAGES—GRIEF OF THE ABORIGINES—THE EVACUATION—OKUMA'S ADDRESS TO THE MIKADO—FOREIGN ENVOYS AGAIN DISTURBED—BEHAVIOR OF CHINA—THE QUESTION OF TRIBUTES—DESTRUCTION OF JAPANESE WORKS IN FORMOSA—CHINESE TROOPS ATTACKED AND SLAUGHTERED.

ALL having now been concluded, as strictly in accordance with the purposes of the Japanese government as could be desired, the Commissioner left Peking on the 1st of November and on the 7th reached Shanghai, whence the chief details of the settlement were communicated by telegraph to Tokio. On the 9th, the intelligence was transmitted to the various public departments, but, for the sake of precaution, orders were given that the preparations of the Army and Navy should not be discontinued until after events should prove the intention of China to adhere to the agreement. Okubo did not immediately return home, but visited Formosa, to acquaint General Saigo with the result, and to give such information as would authorize gradual arrangements for an evacuation. A special messenger of rank was sent from Japan on the 13th, to formally recall the troops. On the 17th, the conventions were officially published throughout the empire. A few days later, Okubo returned to Tokio, where he was received with numerous manifestations of popular favor and with high and unusual tokens of Imperial satisfaction.

In Formosa, after the visit of the Chinese delegates, in June, no incidents of active importance occurred to break the wearying monotony. All

the hostile southern tribes had given acknowledgments of submission before the end of July, and the only duty imposed on the Commanding General was that of waiting patiently for the announcements from Peking. The interval would have passed without serious discomforts, but for the sudden outbreak of fever, in July, which rapidly prostrated a large proportion of the soldiers, and from which hardly an individual connected with the expedition escaped. General Saigo and one subordinate officer alone were entirely untouched by the disease. Of the thousands assembled there, no others were without attacks of more or less violent character. Some hundreds of the troops died,—so many that it was necessary to fill the vacancies by successive reinforcements from Japan. The American attachés suffered with the rest. Mr. Cassel's illness was so severe that grave doubts were entertained as to his recovery. Mr. Wasson left the island before the malady had reached its worst form, and was among the first to recover. His sojourn in Nagasaki afforded Mr. Bingham the opportunity of making his last appearance in the Formosan drama. Having heard a report that Mr. Wasson was about to rejoin the expedition, the United States' Minister again introduced a series of objections and remonstrances, to which little heed was given. By this time his interference had ceased to be impressive and had become fatiguing.

Before the 1st of December, the required compensation was paid by China, and on the 3d of that month, more than two weeks before the stipulated time, General Saigo took leave of Formosa with his whole force. Before departing he issued two proclamations. The first was addressed to the friendly aborigines, and was in the following words;—

"Our intention in coming here has already been announced to you; "and you have well understood our motives and offered the best assistance "that lay in your power. All the wild savages trembled and bowed before "our arms. After this, we continued to occupy the land because of the "opposition which was made to our acts by the Chinese government; but

"now, the negociations between the two nations being brought to a con-
"clusion, we have ceded all the land to China, according to its wish. We
"well know and deeply acknowledge the good and affectionate filial feeling
"you have shown toward us; and we heartily recommend you to hence-
"forth attach yourself to the Chinese officials as you have loved us, and to
"nobly obey their laws without making any opposition."

The second was to the tribes that had united in hostility against the Japanese:—

"A few years ago, the Botans committed an unpardonable crime in
"murdering some of our Riu Kiu subjects, and I, Yorimiti, respectfully
"obeying an Imperial order, came and chastised you. But as you repented
"of your evil deeds and asked our mercy, I forgave you, thinking you
"would wish for a peaceful and long life under our Imperial and benign
"government. But now, arrangements with China having been concluded,
"our empire has complied with the wishes of that nation, and we shall
"presently leave the place. Henceforth you must nobly obey, without
"making any opposition."

The embarkation of the soldiers was witnessed by great numbers of the inhabitants of the Liangkiao valley and also by an unusual gathering of the Eastern aborigines, who had never before come in such bodies and with such unconstrained freedom from their homes in the interior. The closing movements were watched by the Chinese-speaking natives with their accustomed composure and apparent indifference. With the savages, however, it was not so. Their reserve was entirely broken down under what they considered the misfortune of losing their new friends. They were about to be separated from strangers who had opened a new view of humanity to them; who had consistently treated them as reasoning creatures and who had, by confidence and kindness, succeded in kindling in their simple natures emotions which seemed to be little short of veneration. The bitterness of their outbursts against the Chinese, who had been

instrumental in bringing about this new calamity, as they regarded it, was equalled only by the vehemence of their grief at the moment of leave-taking. They cried piteously, without regard to the effect that the display of their weakness might produce upon their cynical neighbors of the Western coast, and, when the General and his staff finally moved to the boats, they clung to them, seizing their hands and their clothing, and begging that they might not be deserted, until they had to be detached by gentle force. Saigo, who is a man of keen sensibilities, was deeply touched by these expressions of devotion, which, in their rude way, were perhaps as worthy tributes to his character and achievements as any of the more tangible honors he received from loftier sources in his own land.

On the 7th of December, the Commander-in-chief landed at Nagasaki, having been absent a little more than six months. On the 27th, he arrived in Tokio where the distinctions to which he had gained an undisputed claim were cordially bestowed upon him.

Little more remained to be done. It was necessary only to gather together the results and bring the labors of all persons concerned to an appropriate end. Toward the middle of the following January, Okuma Sigenobu, from whom the vital impulses of the whole series of events had chiefly sprung, sent an address to the Mikado, preparatory to closing the Department which had been created to meet the requirements of the Formosa question, and the necessity for which would soon cease to exist. It was to the following effect:—

"In the first month of the past year, Sigenobu and others, in accor-
"dance with the confidential instructions they had received, laid before
"Your Majesty a project for the chastisement of the savages. In April
"the Formosa Department was established, and Sigenobu was appointed
"its Chief, to superintend all business belonging to it. In May the Com-
"mander-in-chief Saigo Yorimiti departed to the land of the savages at
"the head of a force, exterminated the wicked, pardoned the submissive,

"and remained there a long time encamped. During the same month the "Minister Plenipotentiary Yanagiwara Sakimitsu was despatched to China, "and in August the High Commissioner Plenipotentiary Okubo Tosimiti "also was sent to that country. Tosimiti and the others worked diligently "and devotedly in the discharge of the important trust committed to them. "In October a convention was exchanged with the said country, and in "November Tosimiti and the rest reported the fulfilment of their mission. "In December Yorimiti returned in triumph. From the institution of the "Commission up to this date a period of eight months had elapsed. Here- "upon the wrongs of the sufferers were for the first time redressed, the "position of a subject 'han' for the first time cleared up, security restored "to the mariners of all countries for the first time, and the dignity and "influence of the State consequently vindicated."

"After our troops had started and were on their way, foreign public "servants remonstrated. The Chinese Government hastily despatched an "Envoy, sent letters and manifested a wide difference of opinion. Some "persons not comprehending the views of the Government, began to doubt "whether it was justified in the course which it was taking. Others dis- "cussed the want of funds, and rumor became so noisy that the State was "again imperilled."

"Sigenobu and the others nevertheless accepted the responsibility, but "day and night they were so busily employed that they feared lest their "strength might be unequal to the task. Fortunately, the wise resolution "of His Majesty never wavered, and the councils of the Government "became still more resolute. Great military preparations were made, and "the mind of the people, both in the towns and in the country, learnt to "recognize the Imperial purpose. Some desired to cast away their lives "and to die for the national cause, others offered to contribute towards the "army expenditure. The civil and military officers united all their efforts, "and the great work of chastising the savages became an accomplished

"fact. We have nothing to be ashamed of before foreign nations con-
"cerning this measure, and its glory will not pale before the deeds done in
"ancient times."

"If, while public rumor was clamorous, we had hesitated or drawn
"back, the injuries done to the sufferers would not have been redressed,
"the position of a dependent 'han' would not have been cleared up, the
"mariners of the world would never have known security, and a land
"of marauders would have been established for ever. Had such been
"the result, we should not only have been disgraced in the eyes of the
"world, but it would have been a sign that the dignity and influence of
"the State were about to fall prostrate. Consequently important interests
"were involved in the chastisement of the savages."

"I humbly pray that His Majesty will eagerly carry on the work and
"carefully ponder; that by reflecting on the past he may be enabled to
"think out the policy of the future so as to exalt his wise work to the
"highest pinnacle and glory, and that he will not stop with the chastise-
"ment of the savages."

It may be a matter for some regret, but can hardly occasion surprise, to find that even now, after all was over, the foreign representatives could not resist the temptation to be disagreeable. The allusion, in the above document, to outside interference was perfectly well understood, and was introduced only in evidence of one of the numerous impediments that had been placed in the way of government action. Everybody knew the foreign Ministers had remonstrated, and that one of them had done more than remonstrate. But it was open to them to force an opportunity for querulous comment, and they did so. They required an explanation. If it were permissible to reveal the alleged grounds upon which some of them privately based their demand, they would be found simply shameful and unmanly. A few days later, the following communication from Okuma to the Prime Minister, Sanjo, was issued :—

"My address to the Mikado contains the following passage: 'after "'our troops had started and were on their way, foreign public servants "'remonstrated.' Your excellency having asked for an explanation of this "passage, on the demand of the foreign representatives, it becomes neces- "sary to say that the foreign representatives did not remonstrate against "the despatch of Japanese troops to Formosa, but some of them, stating "that their Treaty relations with China obliged them to take this course, "protested against the employment by Japan, in the Formosa expedition, "of their ships and subjects or citizens until it was known whether such "employment would or would not be regarded as hostile by China."

The contrast between the course of Japan, and that adopted by China, in these later stages of the affair, was very marked. During the whole course of the negociations in Peking, the authorities of that capital had used strenuous efforts to prevent the subjects of discussion from becoming known. The Peking Gazette, which is the official organ of the government, never, at any time, alluded to the circumstance that Japan had sent an expedition to Formosa, or that China had been arraigned on a question of national right, until after all had terminated and the troops had left the island. It has been, in fact, plainly asserted that the Emperor of China himself was kept in complete ignorance of the entire transaction, and that he died, early in 1875, without a suspicion of what was in progress at the Tsung li Yamen having ever reached him. It is certain that soon after the departure of Okubo and the evacuation by Saigo's troops, reports were industriously circulated that the Japanese had been ignominiously driven from their position, and compelled to pay a large tribute to the Chinese government. This appeared to be in pursuance of a policy of misrepresentation that had first manifested itself during the month of September, when the Tokio government, impelled solely by a motive of humanity, issued a proclamation guaranteeing safety and protection to all Chinese residents in Japan, even in the event of war. This action was declared by

the Chinese officials to be a proof either of a timid anxiety to conciliate or of a desire not to interfere with the course of commerce between China and Japan.

Late in December, the officials at Fuchao were guilty of the imprudence of affecting to reassert their supremacy over the people of Riu Kiu, by compelling the master and crew of a trading ship from Nafa to perform submissive ceremonies at the Custom House of that port. Although it was believed in Japan that the Peking government would promptly disavow this act, and that no serious consequences would result therefrom, an immediate investigation was ordered, and the necessary demands for explanation were presented. The Riu Kiu inhabitants chiefly concerned were required to visit Tokio, where, in April, 1875, they were still undergoing examination.

The circumstance that the Chinese, on obtaining possession of the ground that had been held by the Japanese troops, proceeded to celebrate their acquisition by destroying all traces of the recent occupancy, has already been mentioned. During the first months of 1875, they made efforts, which may be regarded as vigorous, under the circumstances, to throw an air of reality over their hitherto unsupported pretence of controlling the territory. They made flying visits to points on the Western shore, prudently avoiding any approach to the interior. Shen Pao Chen, upon whom a few wholesome convictions had been forced by late experience, submitted a memorial to the Throne, in which he recommended that Formosa should hereafter be governed with a breadth of authority and upon a comprehensive system commensurate with its position and requirements. He went so far as to urge that the seat of the Viceroy who resides in Fu Kien should be transferred to the island, this being now, in his estimation, the more important locality. In pursuance of the plan of at last assuming jurisdiction, a small body of soldiers was sent down to Hong Kang, the village situated a little north of Liangkiao Bay, in which place they were

believed to be safe from savage intrusion. But, in the latter part of January, a couple of officers, while attempting to travel over the roads leading to the south, were waylaid and murdered in the usual manner. A retaliatory expedition was arranged, and, on the 13th of February, a force of two hundred men was sent to seize the village from which the depredators were supposed to have come. They reached it without interruption and found it occupied only by old men, women and children, all of whom they instantly put to death. Believing that their work was now over, after destroying the houses they turned back toward Hong Kang; but before they had proceeded far, they were attacked from the surrounding hills and jungles with a fury that threw them into great confusion. The Chinese leader is said to have behaved with coolness and courage, but his followers were irrecoverably disordered. The savages employed all the destructive methods that they could command. They commenced with fire arms, spears and arrows; then hurled rocks from the heights, after the fashion of Tyrolean warfare, upon their enemies, and finally rushed in upon them with drawn swords, to finish the affair. It is known that more than ninety Chinese were slain, including the chief officer; and the number of savages killed was estimated at thirty. Thus terminated the first effort that has ever been made by Chinese authorities to extend their sway over the inhabitants of aboriginal Formosa.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

DISSOLUTION OF THE FORMOSA DEPARTMENT—POSSIBILITIES OF THE FUTURE —PROOFS OF JAPANESE CAPACITY—WESTERN INDIFFERENCE AND IGNORANCE —HABITUAL DEMEANOR OF FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES—OUTSIDE EFFORTS TO RULE JAPAN—THE REAL OPPONENTS OF PROGRESS—JAPAN WAITS FOR JUSTICE.

THE events immediately connected with the Formosa expedition came to an end in April, 1875, with the dissolution of the Department that had been created, a year before, for the exclusive management of the affair. Other events, dependent upon it, are obviously not beyond expectation; but, if they occur, they will form a new division of the relations between Japan and China, and will require to be considered from a new point of departure. Of the transactions just past, there is reason to believe that a detailed and official history may in course of time be submitted by the Japanese Government, with complete records of the measures successively taken on all sides, and with documentary evidence to sustain the various positions assumed and successfully maintained by the rulers in Tokio. Meanwhile, the fragmentary memoranda of the preceding pages have been gathered together chiefly for the purpose of inviting attention to two important facts, which are not without significance in their reference to the development of this Asiatic empire, in its new and energetic career.

I have desired to show, in the first place, the ability of Japan to grasp an important public question, involving not only domestic duties but also foreign necessities of a grave nature; to assert its just claims with dignity and independence, and to execute its honorable purpose with a steadiness,

in vain to throw off. In the early days, Japan unwittingly surrendered a part of her independence. It is the determination of the body of the foreign Ministers that she shall not regain it. The statement may seem incredible to readers at a distance, but it is nevertheless susceptible of clearest proof, that she cannot safely announce the simplest project of domestic policy, and still less of foreign policy, for fear of interpellations, remonstrances, officious counsel, and possibly threats that are calculated to overturn all her plans. For this reason she is compelled to keep many important measures in complete obscurity, until the actual moment of their fulfilment. And then this very self-protecting secresy is made the basis of new reproaches and aggressions. The course of the Minister of the United States, in reference to the Formosa mission, has now been thrown open. It is a fair example of what Japan has to contend with in all her undertakings, great and small. Indeed, it must not be supposed that Mr. Bingham was alone in his obstructive proceedings in this affair. He was less cautious than some, in not obliterating the traces of his steps, but there is quite enough testimony to show the unfriendly eagerness of other Ministers, in case it should ever be required. In plain words, it is, and long has been, the resolution of the stronger Envoys that Japan shall be governed by the foreign diplomatic corps. It would be an affectation to conceal that in certain particulars, Japan has, in past years, been controlled by outside influences. The unfortunate terms subscribed to in the first Treaties have placed a power in the hands of the Ministers which they have wielded without scruple. Through their mouthpieces, they do not hesitate to aver that they will not permit this power to be withdrawn from them. They will fail in their efforts, but not before they have cost Japan many more pangs of wounded pride and new accummulations of material loss. Meanwhile they strive to reassert their supremacy, day by day, with wanton and audacious assumptions. Their supporters, among the foreign community, applaud and stimulate them. The tone which is adopted may be understood by a

single example of many theories that have lately been promulgated;—which is a direct intimation that the actions and movements of the sovereign himself are to be regarded as "informal" if they have not been previously announced to the foreign Ministers. A condition of things like this cannot, of course, long continue. But it is for the interest of international decency—not to put too fine a point upon it—that it should terminate as hastily as possible. Complaints of the retrogressive schemes of Japan, of her reluctance to give new tokens of liberal intentions and of her resistance to recent broad demands are beginning to be heard. These are all flagrantly unjust. Japan was never more willing to move forward than at the present moment; but before taking additional steps she must be free. What is now asked of her is that she shall yield everything, and receive back nothing of what belongs to her and has been withheld for half a score of years. It is charged that she will not revise her Treaties. But the fact that she has been told that revision means, in the minds of the Envoys, nothing but fresh concessions without a single equivalent, has not been so loudly proclaimed. The Western Ministers are the real obstructionists. By urging demands that cannot possibly be granted, they interpose the only barrier to gradual freedom of mutual intercourse. If her national rights were restored to Japan tomorrow, there would be no unreasonable delay in the opening of the country to foreign ingress. But this is not what they want. They must have unrestricted access under conditions buoyant to their own prosperity but fatal to the life of Japan. Some of the home governments—notably those whose existence is beginning to depend upon the rapid extension of their trade—are vividly aware of these facts, and are content to let them stand unaltered. Others are blind from heedlessness. Except in rare instances, the representatives of all of them are allowed to work out their individual wills. So the process of uninterrupted interference goes on. It cannot last forever, but it is a scandal to the nations that it has lasted thus long and that the end is not yet in sight.

What it is all worth, and what evils it may have the chance of involving, its application in the case of the Formosa expedition sufficiently shows. The representative of the Great Republic of America went out of his way to throw impediments in the course of a public-spirited and humane enterprise, for the redress of wrongs which his own countrymen, as well as others, had suffered,—that enterprise being the task of the Eastern Empire which has a better founded claim to the sympathy and support of the United States than of any other country. Happily, the Republican Minister failed to paralyze the impulses of Japanese action in this instance. The end shows what the brave little state may accomplish in defiance of the discouraging and tormenting anxieties to which it is now liable. What it might effect, in the direction of a sound and healthy development, if the foreign public sense of justice should revolt at its treatment, and, in spite of those whose interest is centred in its continued subjugation, ordain its free acceptance into the community of nations, can well be estimated by all whose generous instincts are not sunk in prejudice or obstinate conceit.

APPENDIX.

A.

It is hardly essential, in this hasty narrative, to introduce the complete historical evidence showing the connection between Riu Kiu and Japan. In case of need, the fact that the dependency has existed for centuries could easily be established; but inasmuch as the Chinese themselves have renounced all claim to the partial authority with which foreigners formerly credited them, the question requires no further investigation.

B.

In illustration of the absence of necessity for written declarations of so patent a fact as China's lack of authority over aboriginal Formosa, one of the members of the first Japanese delegation subsequently employed this comparison: "Until a recent time, the sovereigns of England called "themselves kings of France, and included the lilies of that country in "their arms. That was a far more direct nominal claim than China ever "assumed over Formosa. Yet an ambassador who should have asked "for a written declaration that England had no jurisdiction over France "would have been derided. A fact so universally known might indeed "have been touched upon in verbal discussions, but its documentary "acknowledgement would never have been required."

C.

The records of Charlevoix, de Mailla, and many others, supply the fullest testimony of the sway of the Japanese in Formosa during the early

part of the seventeenth century. The first named author recites, with minute detail, various evidences of the Japanese strength and explains the causes of its gradual decline.

D.

The unabridged story of General Le Gendre's first visit to the interior of Southern Formosa may be found in the United States' Diplomatic Correspondence for 1868, where it stands in vigorous and refreshing contrast to the customary dullness of tape-bound documents of state.

E.

It may be mentioned that the first information of the wholesale slaughter of the Riu Kiu mariners was not imparted to the Chinese government by Japan. The authorities of Peking knew of the circumstances, in fact, a long time before they could be communicated to the Tokio rulers, and had ample opportunities of moving in the matter without waiting for the action of their neighbor. An empty Imperial decree, ordering an inquiry which it was well understood would never take place, was the only notice vouchsafed until the subject was brought before the Tsung li Yamen with irresistible force.

F.

The first step of the recent change in the Japanese form of government was the redistribution of the old feudal provinces into what were called "han." Over these, the former daimios were appointed to rule as governors. But presently a more radical reformation was carried out. The system of "han" was abolished, and a second reorganization took place. The local departments now became "ken," and were administered by officers directly appointed by the central authority. The old nobility thus ceased, as a rule, to exercise political control in any part of the empire.

G.

It has always been declared by the savage leaders who came in contact with General Le Gendre in 1867 that no strangers of any nation, with a single exception, have since been intentionally maltreated. The exception is China. The aborigines steadily refuse to bind themselves by any pacific pledges so far as the Chinese race is concerned.

I.

The protest of Mr. Bingham, together with as many of his communications upon this subject as the United States' government has seen fit to publish, may be found in the volume of Diplomatic Correspondence of 1874.

J.

One of the most striking contrasts between the practical methods of the Japanese and the antique theories of the Chinese was exemplified in these transactions of Yanagiwara, Saigo, Shen and Pan. The two latter officials pursued the familiar plan of putting themselves in communication with Japanese officers holding a rank superior to their own, in the expectation that enormous advantages would thereby be gained, and that a diplomatic triumph must inevitably follow. One of the first points, in Chinese negociations, is to attempt to humble a disputant by forcing him to confront an inferior, and by keeping him at a distance from the real sources of power. In this instance, however, the effort was a failure from beginning to end. Yanagiwara and Saigo met Pan Wi, heard all that he had to say, received his propositions, and then informed him that he was not the person with whom they could definitely treat. If Shen had himself visited them, the conferences might have reached a more advanced stage, but, even then, a reference to higher authorities, for ultimate decision, would have been insisted upon.